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VOL. LXXVII—NO. 1984. THURSDAY, JULY 9, 1903. PRICE TEN CENTS.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 9, 1903.

The Week.

The reason for the fresh outbreak of savagery in an American city displayed on Sunday in Evansville, Ind., was simply resentment at failure to lynch a negro who three days before killed a policeman, but who was spirited away in time to save him from lawless hanging or even burning. No white woman figures in this case as in the Wilmington shame. The excuse of the "one crime," therefore, fails again, as it has failed innumerable times, to account for white atrocity. But matters have come to such a pass that lynch law must prevail whatever a negro's crime, and no matter how many additional lives must be sacrificed. The Evansville company of the Indiana militia, together with some 200 deputy sheriffs, struck a blow for law and order on Monday night which should have far-reaching effects. In defence of sixteen negro prisoners they fired upon a mob of several thousand of their townspeople, with the result that they killed six rioters and onlookers, and wounded twenty-one others, four fatally. As four of the soldiers were also wounded, it is evident that the firing was done in self-defence. But the troops were well within their rights as defenders of common order. The city had been practically in possession of the mob for three days, the Mayor's demands for peace and order had been defied, and it was a question whether the authorities or the mob should rule.

Mr. Booker Washington has for some time suffered from a certain amount of suspicion on the part of other leaders of his race. Some of them, like Professor Du Bois, have thought him too cold towards the higher education of the negro. Others, like Mr. Thomas Fortune, have considered him lukewarm in the matter of negro political rights. Such misunderstandings of a strong and self-centred man who moves on steadily in his one chosen and successful field of work, are natural; but Mr. Washington did much to dissipate them by his speech before the Afro-American Council at Louisville on Thursday. He powerfully struck the note of equality before the law for all men, white or black. In that alone, he contended, lies safety for either. The whole fabric of our Government is imperilled when you once permit any class or color to be discriminated against. This is simply the President's doctrine of "a square deal" for the negro. Treat him like a man. Deal with him as you do with any other citizen. If you pass laws to restrict the suffrage by educational or property qualifications, make them absolutely impartial, and not the hollow shams they are in Alabama, for instance, where every illiterate white rapscallion is allowed to vote, while thousands of educated and well-to-do negroes are robbed of the ballot.

The peonage abuses in Alabama were so open and atrocious that the punishment of guilty individuals has followed promptly upon the revelation of their crimes. So far, none of these new slave-drivers has made any defence before the Federal courts. But the remedy for slavery by legal subterfuge lies not with the courts, but with the people. In Alabama, for ten years past, there has been no white man brave enough to speak out against the trade in negroes. The present agitation and the exemplary punishment of notorious offenders will be of only temporary avail unless the people of Alabama are aroused to jealousy for their personal rights. For though the indifference which has till now prevailed is an expression of race prejudice, at bottom the rights of all citizens of Alabama are at stake. No people which allows the rights of any class of the community to be persistently overriden is long a free people. In Philadelphia, as Mr. Lincoln Steffens shows strikingly in *McClure's Magazine*, a wealthy and intelligent community is reduced to political impotence because it has permitted the baser politicians to work their will with the election laws. In Alabama are seen the more horrible results of allowing ignorant and vicious persons to become masters not only of the negro's vote and work, but of his life and limb. It is not enough in either case to imprison a few law-breakers; the community must assert itself in such fashion that the attempt to become possessed of a citizen's vote or his person shall be odious. Condemnation from the citizens of Alabama is more necessary in this peonage matter than the sentence of the Federal courts; and that rebuke should be both audible and explicit.

One grudging word is frequently uttered by Southern newspapers in their references to the peonage cases. Admitting the cruelties, the illegalities, the disgrace, they yet say that "politics" has been allowed to color the prosecution of the guilty men. This they variously denounce as "despicable," "intolerable," etc. Now if widespread interest in an event of national importance means "politics," all we have to say is that it is wholly unavoidable. Americans are built that way. They cannot help being concerned at what is going on in their own country; and if political evils require a political remedy, they cast about to find it. But is the South itself so innocent of the wiles of politicians in all the inflamed state of feeling about the negro? When the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, for example, affirms that the "act of madness of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt" in inviting Booker Washington to lunch has "incited to mob rule," is it speaking words of truth and soberness, or echoing the language of Southern politicians? Their ways are well understood. Their chief aim is to maintain themselves in office by "keeping the South solid." The method of doing it is to harp on the prejudice against the negro. When the Republican Presidents used to appoint unworthy negroes to office, the cry was, "There, you see what they will do if we do not all stand together." When Mr. Roosevelt selected educated colored men of high character, the alarm was raised, "This means social equality." Politics for politics, the South knows how to inject the race question into it more skilfully and constantly than the North.

One plank in the Iowa platform will be read with great attention at the South. It is that opposing "all legislation designed to accomplish the disfranchisement of citizens upon lines of race, color, or station in life." There is added a condemnation of measures "adopted by the Democratic party in certain States of the Union to accomplish that end." Following the similar deliverance of the Ohio Republicans, this serves fair notice of the rise of a new political issue. The South is not going to be "let alone" in its discrimination against one great class of citizens of the United States. If the Federal courts do not interfere to pronounce the disfranchising statutes null and void, Congress will have to intervene, and the Republican party will be compelled to take up and complete its historic work in behalf of the negro.

The State of Georgia has honorably refused to distribute school funds according to the tax receipts from the blacks and whites respectively. The resolution to that effect, which was overwhelmingly voted down in the Legislature, had a kind of specious, arithmetical attractiveness. But the legislators of Georgia were prompt to see that the principle of racial school budgets was wholly un-American, and that its application in other cases than the negroes, would leave uneducated the classes that most need school training. It is only fair to add that the other Southern

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States have in this matter followed a straight course. In several instances it has been attempted to make the negroes bear the whole cost of their own schooling; but invariably such bills have been defeated. The South generally reserves its sophisms and grandfather clauses for political use. Georgia has certainly not suffered any of the imagined horrors which are the only apology for discriminating legislation in other States. These would do well to study in Georgia the superiority of counsels of fairness over promptings of prejudice or panic.

What can Gov. Taft be thinking of to put into his first message by the new cable another plea for tariff revision? Did he imagine that the Republican party had girdled the earth in forty minutes in order to be told again of its standing injustice to the Filipinos? Gov. Taft cannot have heard the news from Iowa, or even from his own Ohio. Otherwise, he would have known that all his party, from the President down, are "stand-patters" whom the mere mention of tariff reduction throws into convulsions. Is their peace of mind thus to be rudely disturbed by way of Manila? If these maladroit references to the sacred white elephant of the tariff do not cease, Republicans will leave off praising Gov. Taft's services. It is all very fine to represent your country worthily, but what the Republican party expects of every man is to swear that the sun would not shine or the grass grow but for protection, and, as the Scriptures say, "having done all to stand"—pat!

A reform of the rural free-delivery service, as announced by the Post-Office Department, should work a great improvement. But the obliteration of district lines will not suffice. Congressmen can plead as earnestly and pull as many wires to secure a free-delivery service lying but partly in their districts as if their constituents were to receive the benefit of the whole of it. The question is: Will the postal authorities conduct this service, and open up new routes, utterly regardless of the effect on the personal fortunes of favored Congressmen? It is easy to promise this when Congress is not in session and while the communication of Representatives with the Department is chiefly by letter, but how will it be when they come back, besiege the Postmaster-General, and explain to him that their entire political careers turn on his consenting to break his rules? We do not wish to be pessimistic, but this is what he must prepare himself for. And we greatly fear that, in the language of the reporters, he will be "visibly affected" by the tales which he will hear. The free rural delivery and the rest of the postal service will stand a chance of being put on a real business basis when the Department is placed under the charge of some man who will decline to make it the nursery of political fortunes and careers, Congressional or otherwise.

Secretary Root's order to investigate the connection of Congressman Littauer with army glove contracts is so prompt that some friends of the statesman from Gloversville are already talking about the statute of limitations. They also plead the imperious demands of war, which made it necessary to get work done quickly. It would, indeed, have been cruel to send ungloved soldiers to dare the rigors of a Cuban or a Philippine climate. Under the circumstances, criticism of Congressman Littauer's services to the Government in its hour of peril is unpatriotic. It is hinted that Senator Proctor's interest in marble headstones for dead soldiers may also come under review. Surely it is a fitting time to inquire into the basis of the popular belief that Senator Proctor cares not who makes the wars of a country, if only he may furnish headstones for the soldiers. In a few days, when this matter is open to the light, we may again hear the trumpet call of patriotism. Since the admirers of Perry Heath, Machen, and Beavers have already pointed with pride to the statute of limitations and the inexorable needs of war as the twin glories of our republic, we may amend Dr. Johnson, and declare that patriotism with the statute of limitations is the last refuge of a scoundrel.

The question of separate or joint Statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory is being debated as hotly in those localities as if they had power to settle it for themselves. The failure of Congress at the last session to confer Statehood on any of the territories has, it seems, made a live issue in Oklahoma of the question, "What are we to ask for next time?" On this question the two political parties have already taken sides. The Republican policy demands immediate Statehood, which practically means separate Statehood, since it is not proposed to admit Indian Territory before the five civilized tribes sever their tribal relations. The Republicans protest against "holding back one Territory until another is ready for Statehood, perhaps as a part of the former." The "single Staters," most of whom are Democrats, also declare that they want Statehood as soon as possible, but they do not believe in making Oklahoma and the Indian country "the two Rhode Islands of the West." As to Indian Territory, the sentiment there, so far as expressed, appears to be chiefly in favor of joint Statehood, which would give her a share in Oklahoma's prosperity. It does not seem in the least likely that all this argument will bring about anything approaching unanimity among the people of the Territories; and Congress, viewing the dissensions, will doubtless do what it would probably do in any case, and treat the whole question exactly as it pleases.

Judge Kirkpatrick's order that the receiver of the Asphalt Trust proceed against the promoters of that bankrupt concern, to recover exorbitant profits taken out by them at its organization, contains possibilities of considerable interest. The complaint is of an act not very unfamiliar in our recent industrial finance—the purchase of a company's stock at one figure, and the selling of that stock to a Trust at a very much larger figure; the sellers being also the organizers of the Trust. Thus, in the case of the United Asphalt, one of the constituent companies, the receiver charges that the difference between what Messrs. Barber, Elkins, and Greene paid for the stock and what they received for it from the Asphalt Trust, was $2,941,000. They bought this stock, he alleges, between the time when they organized the Trust and the time when they made the Trust acquire the United Asphalt. Similar allegations are made regarding other properties acquired. Shares in one smaller company were bought by the "insiders" at 48½ per share, and sold to the Trust for 100. The particular interest of this suit lies in the question whether the allegations can be proved in court. That such practices existed in the most flagrant form, with the Asphalt "promotion" as with a hundred others, nobody well informed on financial doings questions for a moment. But, naturally, legal proof is not so easily obtainable. Probably the defence will rest, as it usually does in cases of this nature, on a contention that the stock was bought in ignorance of a plan to absorb it into the Trust, or that the shares of the Trust, received in exchange for the stock of the subsidiary company, were not really worth the figure on which the estimate of promoters' profits is based. Every one knows the twists and turns of which a defendant financier in court, with skilful counsel, is capable. We have had some inkling of it in the preliminary fencing of the Shipyard case. The organizers of this Trust lost not a moment, after the company's collapse, in posing as public benefactors who had really lost money in promoting schemes of public utility.

Some praise is heard for the arbitration agreement concluded between the George A. Fuller Construction Company and the representatives of the building unions in this city; but it seems to be based not only upon ignorance of the real attitude of this company towards unionism, but also upon a superficial analysis of the actual contract. Nothing would seem fairer than an arbitration

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board composed of two representatives of either party and a disinterested umpire; but is the plan sincerely proposed? How have this company and its employees contrived to keep the peace in the past, when other less fortunate contractors have been constantly embroiled with their workmen? Does the proposal for arbitration really indicate a change of attitude on the part of this company towards such walking delegates as Samuel J. Parks? All who understand the building situation in New York would like to hear these questions satisfactorily answered before hailing the Fuller corporation as pioneers of industrial conciliation.

But assuming for the moment that the agreement looks only towards peace with honor, it is burdened with two very doubtful stipulations. The construction company agrees to employ only members of the contracting unions, which reciprocally agree to keep the Fuller company supplied with labor in a way to give it an advantage over other builders. Such an agreement cannot remain long in force. It would be absurd, on the one hand, to suppose that the present federation of the building trades is permanent, or, on the other, that it will give the Fuller company the preference when it becomes more advantageous to work for other employers. Furthermore, the company apparently puts itself at the mercy of the unions in the matter of members of the arbitration board. At any time the representatives of the company may find themselves conferring with a brace of notoriously corrupt walking delegates. From this and other considerations it appears that the arbitration plan was made to be published, not to be used. Peace is really to be maintained by less public methods which other employers have declared to be intolerable. A wholesome settlement of the building-trades imbroglio will sooner be reached through President Eidlitz's policy of quiet resistance to the impossible demands and questionable practices of the union, than through a hasty treaty which says one thing and means another.

Monday was a busy day for Sam Parks—he of the thousand strikes. He got the housesmiths to pass resolutions censuring President Neidig, his recent opponent at the ballot-box, and to vote $5,000 for his own defence in the blackmail cases. Besides this, he opportunely managed to have the books "lost" which contained evidence as to his alleged blackmailing transactions, meanwhile persuading the Board of Building Trades to vote against the arbitration proposals of the recent conference between employers and unions. This latter action is purely advisory and will probably be disregarded by the unions. Before Mr. Parks is enrolled among the distinguished exponents of the strenuous life, it should be remembered that he is merely dying game. Even the baser beasts when cornered—like Parks between the law and the unions—will give a fairly lion-like exhibition of teeth and claws. His recent activities can bear only that color even to his friends and admirers.

According to all accounts, Tammany Hall is in great distress over the discovery that its leader, Charles F. Murphy, has not been released from responsibility for the dock-lease scandals by the statute of limitations. During most of the agitation over the revelations of the conduct of the old Dock Board, Murphy's friends have gone about perfectly contented. For everything which transpired prior to July 1, 1901, the statute of limitations already had run. From that time on, "Charlie" was ill and did not participate in the acts of the Board. The fact that his friends and relatives continued to prosper was not perhaps legally significant. But now it appears that "Charlie" did not remain invalided quite long enough. He very foolishly recovered somewhere along in December, and fell to signing leases, the legal responsibility for which has not yet been wiped out by the statute. No wonder Tammany is dismayed. Its leaders took no stock, probably, in Murphy's early bravado about desiring a public examination; but the statute of limitations was something which they could understand and appreciate. That, they felt, they might tie to with enthusiasm.

The enormous growth of our Canadian exports, estimated at $125,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, will tempt devotees of the balance of trade theory to undue transports. They will argue something like this: Exports to Canada, $125,000,000, imports from Canada $55,000,000—Uncle Sam's credit in his trousers pocket $70,000,000. To our readers it may seem superfluous to say that Uncle Sam would have more reason to gloat over Canada trade if his credit balance were smaller. Our mills have lacked their wheat; in a great building period we should have had their lumber without paying too dearly for it; most of their natural products would have been readily convertible into profits in our hands, and there is nothing to say of that $70,000,000 trade balance except that it is uncomfortably large. Of course the increase of our exports by $12,000,000 is matter of rejoicing. It shows that a natural trade will leap over artificial obstructions, and it is an indication of what the trade across our northern border might be if a reciprocity should come about. Under such a happy dispensation, exports would undoubtedly greatly increase, but the real advantage to us would lie in the liberation of a stream of Canadian exports to the south, to be profitably employed in our great industries.

Openmindedness as a substitute for political convictions is faring ill in England. Already the protectionists have complained that Mr. Balfour, while making up his mind, deprived them of the only duty they had—the war tax on grain; and now some twoscore Conservatives, including the most influential members of the party, serve notice upon Mr. Balfour that he may carry the inquiring spirit as far as he will, but if he is to retain their votes, he must come out on the free-trade side. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach rather grimly suggested that these free-trade Unionists are really serving the Government as friends when they prevent the Ministry from misleading the voters. Thus day by day the Ministerial situation becomes more ludicrously impossible. Here is Mr. Balfour professing openmindedness while his Colonial Secretary is preaching protection and his Chancellor of the Exchequer is as sturdy for free trade. Balfour hesitates and says, "We shall see"; Chamberlain winks and says, "He'll come round"; the free-trade Unionists solemnly warn the country not to believe anything the Premier or Mr. Chamberlain may say on the matter of tariffs. Here is tolerance indeed, but it is the tolerance of reciprocal disrespect. Mr. Balfour has been gradually drifting into Mr. Chamberlain's views and language. He would stand morally in a stronger position if he would proclaim Joseph as his prophet. Certainly the stage of inquiry has passed when Unionists holding the balance of power are dictating what conclusion the inquirers must reach.

An extraordinary slip was made by Mr. Balfour when he denied that Sir Robert Peel ever had to face the questions of colonial and international trade as does the present Premier. For this a grandson of Peel sharply calls Mr. Balfour to task in the *Spectator*. Veiling his personal attack under the sarcastic pretence that it is only rebuking those "whose duty it is to inform him [Mr. Balfour] upon this important subject," he shows by plentiful citation, giving chapter and page, that his grandfather had, in fact, been compelled to deal with the very problems of the present. Preferential trade with the colonies is no new thing. It was the established system, was tried and found wanting, and was deliberately abolished by Peel in his act repealing the corn laws. Similarly did he reject retaliation against foreign nations. "I am not disposed," he said, "to withhold from ourselves the benefits of reduction of duties in order to force other nations to act in a reciprocal manner" (Life of Cobden, ii., p. 240). Thus it appears that Mr. Balfour's latest novelties are merely old fallacies.

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"IDEAS" VS. CONVICTIONS.

Thomas Moore once heard some one maintain that "the word idea is the feminine of idiot." The derivation is given a new plausibility by the latest developments in connection with "the Iowa idea." The new Iowa Republican platform comes perilously near idiocy, so far as it relates to the tariff. It uses words, not to conceal thoughts, but to hide intentions, to mask divisions, and to make of a solemn political deliverance a species of thimble-rigging. Talk about driving a coach and four through the language of a resolution! A whole circus procession, clowns and all—especially clowns—could find room to disport itself between the meaningless phrases, the absurd balancing of contradictories, to be found in the Iowa tariff plank. Readers of this latest Allisonian masterpiece of indecision and non-committal will be tempted to smile and say, "Well, Slippery William can still carry water on both shoulders even in his old age."

But facts are too much for the most adroit verbiage. The platform was apparently constructed so as to allow Mr. Facing Bothways to stand upon it in perfect comfort; but its builders forgot that something had gone before. Two previous Republican conventions in Iowa had been so indiscreet as to affirm that the tariff offered a "shelter" to Trusts; and to demand a speedy revision of rates which bear hard upon the people. This was a programme. This was the Iowa idea. Now, with that record before the country, it is obvious that the slightest abatement in terms is a surrender. It will not do to point to Senator Allison's precious ambiguities about "impartial" duties that should be "equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly," and that should be "changed from time to time." The Iowa idea was to change them at once, and especially to destroy the tariff shelters in which Trusts demonstrably take refuge. Gov. Cummins, it is true, with admirable grace in leek-eating, declares that the new platform means the same thing as the old, and that he, accepting a nomination upon it, will contend as before for immediate revision of the tariff and for denying protection to offensive Trusts; but every one except an office-seeker understands that a retreat has been sounded. Allison and Dolliver, Wilson and Shaw, have triumphed over Gov. Cummins. Even in Iowa the Republican party is joined to its tariff idols.

President Roosevelt took pains to deny in advance the authorship of the Iowa tariff plank. We do not know whether his scruples were literary or political. Either might be warranted. No writer with a reputation for explicit vigor would care to father the tortuous obscurities of the Iowa platform. Nor would any politician who yet retained the power to blush, choose to recite such a Good-Lord, Good-Devil confession of faith. But platforms, by whomsoever devised, cannot alter established facts or change political sentiments based upon them. It is the general belief of the people in Iowa that the tariff is cunningly devised to swell artificial profits at the expense of the consumer. Even Speaker Henderson confessed this in his letter to a constituent. He admitted that, if he could have his way, he would strike off the duties on steel and salt and pottery, under cover of which the farmers of Iowa were remorselessly bled. It is the widespread nature of this feeling in that State which has hitherto given Gov. Cummins his great popular support. It is that, too, which encourages the Democrats to take advanced ground on the tariff. They welcome the protection issue, even if the timid Republicans run to hide their heads in the sand. The tariff will be a live issue in the Iowa campaign. The more the Republicans try to smother it in circumlocutions, the more surely will it burst out and demand a hearing. Purely as a matter of party strategics, the Republicans have, by their shuffling cowardice, made the mistake of giving the Democrats a fine opportunity to pull themselves together, after their Bryanistic debauch, and to make a good fight for the State.

There is, however, a larger political aspect of this Iowa performance. An elastic platform signifies an elastic political conscience. Ideas war with convictions—an "idea" being, it appears, a kind of trick valid for this campaign only, designed to cheat the people, good enough until after election, but then to be shoved aside with other useless lumber. It is one of the grievous mischiefs which protection has wrought in our public life that it has led men thus to play fast and loose with their convictions. William B. Allison is an old free-trader. Probably he is such still by mental persuasion. So was Garfield. So, we suppose, is Mr. Roosevelt. But political exigency is allowed to eat into mental integrity. A jumble of dodging words is permitted to take the place of clear-cut affirmation of real belief. That way lies political insincerity—a fruitful mother of public vices. The freeman's heritage is to speak the thing he will though girt by friend or foe, and to act upon the truth which is warm in his heart. This Iowa jugglery shows us how protection destroys sincerity, and prevents men from either saying what they think or voting as they believe.

ANOTHER SCHOLAR IN POLITICS.

Congressman Littauer's explanation of his connection with the army glove contracts is interesting, but unconvincing. The gist of his defence is that Edmond R. Lyon of this city obtained a contract for the gloves, and that Lyon in turn bought the goods of Littauer Brothers. "In none of our transactions with Lyon," says Mr. Littauer, "had we any other interest, direct or indirect, except that of manufacturers selling goods directly to him."

Whether Mr. Littauer is legally guilty cannot be determined by trial in the newspapers. The courts alone can compel the production of the necessary evidence, and the courts alone can construe that Federal statute which declares in the most sweeping and explicit terms that no member of Congress shall be interested, "directly or indirectly," "in whole or in part," in any Government contract. The average layman, however, will see in the arrangement by which the work was done by Littauer Brothers, and the goods shipped straight from their factories to the Quartermaster, a very direct interest in the award of the contract to a firm which would buy of the Littauers. If they were not interested, the Congressman from the Twenty-second New York District showed singular philanthropy in his willingness to "call on Ludington" at the War Department "in reference to any other than the standard gauntlet." The theory that he would visit the Department for the simple pleasure of an abstract discussion of gloves—just as President Roosevelt used to attend a national convention in order to find a quiet and secluded spot where he could enjoy Herodotus in the original Greek—is hardly tenable. That theory, indeed, breaks down in the light of Congressman Littauer's note, "Divide profit over this figure, $1.55," and the agreement to share profit or loss with Lyon on another contract.

Should Mr. Littauer be tried before an able judge and an impartial jury, he would find his defence a formidable task. But before the bar of public opinion he cannot secure acquittal; for however carefully he may have avoided legal pitfalls, he has obviously been interested in the contracts. He has violated the spirit if not the letter of the law.

The case is another illustration of the effect of our lavish and loose methods of Government business. At the time of the civil war the term "army contract" became a byword. To be "as dishonest as an army contractor" was to touch the lowest depth. The trouble was that we were spending enormous sums in hot haste; and every rascal in the country jumped for his portion of plunder. To-day we are spending even larger sums with almost as much haste. Our income has been swollen beyond reason by an outrageously high tariff, and our outlay is correspondingly reckless. When the tariff pie is opened everybody rushes to Washington for his piece, and Congressmen have become used to voting for this schedule or that, simply in order to give themselves or their constituents a slice. From such legislation it is a short

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step to the struggle for a share of the appropriations. These very Gloversville people whom Congressman Littauer represents so perfectly, have been among the most persistent beggars for tariff favors. If Congressman Littauer will vote for a tariff schedule that puts money into the pockets of Littauer Brothers, he does not show much grosser impropriety when he thrusts his finger into an army contract.

With such an example set by Senators and Representatives, the demoralization in the Postal Department and in other branches of the Government is inevitable. When everybody is grabbing, the postal clerk sees no reason why he should withhold his hand. By a stroke of the pen he can win 40 per cent. of the profit on mail bags; and he makes the stroke. With such fat plums dropping from every tree about him, he regards himself as a model of self-restraint if he merely helps his sons or other relatives into positions with firms to which he can show favors in return. He almost comes to think that he deserves warm praise for not robbing the Government outright.

The pity in Congressman Littauer's case is that the culprit is Congressman Littauer and not a man like Congressman Grosvenor. Of Grosvenor, people would expect nothing better; he has been notorious for years. No doubtful scheme in which he might embark would either surprise or shock. But Congressman Littauer is a shining example of a scholar in public life. He comes of a good family, he enjoys social position, he is a graduate of Harvard, he is a successful manufacturer, presumably with high ideals in business and in politics. He has had the advantage of close friendship with President Roosevelt, and he is well aware of the President's desire to have everything about him as "clean as a hound's tooth." Whatever may be said of other transgressors, Congressman Littauer has sinned against light.

In commenting the other day on Andrew D. White's demand for educated men in politics, we took occasion to say that the need is not so much for educated men as for men who can resist the argument that "everybody does" this or that which is vicious on its face, but which has become less ugly in popular judgment by reason of custom. To illustrate the signal failure of mere education, Congressman Littauer now presents himself as a notable instance. From him we looked for the behavior of a gentleman and a scholar. We get from him what we might expect from any ignorant and vicious man who had a chance at the public till.

THE MORAL OF MR. SCHWAB.

We think that the predominant feeling of right minds, in the presence of Mr. Charles M. Schwab's final breakdown, after receiving many rude buffets of fortune, is one of pity. He seems a victim. His generation, and the system of great finance upon which it was his lot to fall, have proved too much for him. The fine natural abilities with which he set out, the physical vigor, the mental energy, the technical training, the mastery of men—to-day they all appear but as so much splendid promise wrecked. The vast and remorseless machinery of financial speculation has drawn him in and left him bruised and bleeding.

Five years ago, Mr. Schwab's position was most enviable. He had found his work. The career open to his talents he had successfully run. Rising by industry and merit to be the managing head of the Carnegie Company, he was an inspiring example of the way in which this country spells opportunity, and in which among us talent pushes to the top. Blessed with health, enjoying the confidence of owners and men alike, he had "a heart that in his labor sings," and might have boasted, with Lowell, that such a heritage "a king might wish to hold in fee." Great powers finding happy exercise—there is a good definition of human felicity, and Mr. Schwab seemed to have it securely in his possession.

But the tempter lay in wait for him. It took the guise of those glittering rewards which the gambling mania holds out before those who would make haste to be rich. There is an undoubted peril here for every commanding talent. Eager syndicates stand ready to exploit it, exhaust it, and then fling it aside like a squeezed orange. The process has been seen in the literary world. Success has been the ruin of many a rising author. He has jumped at the money bait. The big checks waved in his face by competing publishers have dulled his artistic conscience, and he has sold poor work as if it were good, not perceiving that it was only himself that he was really selling—and degrading. Something like that seem to have been the seductions before which Mr. Schwab fell. Not to do his best work, but suddenly to get rich, became his ambition. The prizes dangled before his eyes dazzled him. With millions won and lost in daring speculations, with paper fortunes made by a stroke of the promoter's pen, why should he longer confine himself to the hum-drum task of simply managing with all his skill a great property? He incontinently joined the ranks of the financial plungers. In other words, pursuing fickle Fortune, he followed her up to and over the edge of the precipice, where it is her wont to lead so many of her votaries.

It would, of course, be idle to deny that Mr. Schwab displayed in all this a sorrowful lack of mental poise and moral fibre. He acted like a man whose head was turned. His rakish descent upon Monte Carlo was an eye-opener to the discerning. As we said at the time, it revealed a reckless spirit in a man whose position laid upon him the absolute obligation at least to appear conservative. It was, as we know, a grief to his friends; but it was more than that—it was a warning to investors. How could they know that the man who would ostentatiously stake thousands on the red, might not make ducks and drakes of their property, by transferring the scene of his gambling operations from Monte Carlo to Wall Street? As it turned out, we see that Mr. Schwab did, in fact, bear out the reputation he thus unwittingly won for himself. He was loud and lavish in his personal expenditures. His chief outside enterprise—the shipyard combination—appears in the light of judicial opinion to have been at best a gambling speculation; at worst, something still more culpable. The judicious, we are bound to say, were not surprised at the recent revelations affecting this concern. A shrewd old business man put the matter tersely, "What else could you expect from a Monte Carlo gambler?"

It is only because there are to be drawn from Mr. Schwab's case certain broad inferences and warnings, more significant than anything merely personal, that we have felt justified in referring to it. He has been unconsciously a powerful moral teacher. He has revealed to the observant the true nature of that world of "high finance" into which he so rashly ventured—with all its desperate chances and wild audacity and gambler's passion, so destructive, as we see, to physical and moral life alike. He has shown us what comes of "thinking in hundred millions," and living in a mad rivalry of luxury. The "get-rich-quick" method of Wall Street appears, in the light of Mr. Schwab's misfortunes, no better morally, and not even any more successful in the long run, than fleecing schemes on the Bowery. And he has done not a little to remind us that the old-fashioned moralities and the well-tried rules of business are still supreme. Financial follies surely come home to roost. New syndicates cannot enact new laws of morality. The gambler remains a gambler still, though he hazard millions. To have reinforced while illustrating these homely truths, and to have done something to lead the poor man, happy in useful work, not to scorn his lot, may easily prove to be Mr. Schwab's greatest contribution to his age.

MISPRAISE OF WESLEY.

The two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Wesley has naturally called attention to the character and work of that very remarkable man. It is not an easy task to overpraise him, nor to assess too highly the healthful influence he exerted. A hundred converging lines

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of evidence convict the masses in England in the eighteenth century of having been literally brutalized. If they have measurably risen out of this condition, much of the credit is Wesley's.

But while it is hard to bestow too liberal praise upon the man or his work, it is easy, as some recent estimates of Wesley show, to do his fame an essential disservice by basing it upon a false foundation. Primarily and essentially, John Wesley was a preacher of righteousness to individuals. In his time "no single figure influenced so many minds; no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a life's work for England." That he ever entertained any other idea of his vocation than that of summoning individuals to repentance is incredible; and however such a man may lack a true perspective in viewing his own work, there is very good ground for believing that his own idea of his own work was nearer the truth than that of his apologists, who see his greatest contribution to the sum of human welfare in some of the collateral secular movements to which Wesleyanism gave an incidental impetus.

This nicety of discrimination in bestowing praise is an affectation of our modern critical spirit. It allows us to venerate antiquity, but seldom upon traditional or common-sense grounds. From it the Reformation obtains a tolerant approval, not because the Roman Church was corrupt in practice and astray in doctrine, but because modern science would have been impossible without freedom of inquiry. By the same token, the American Revolution is to be justified, not because the colonies were really oppressed, but because the exigencies of world-politics would not warrant our continued connection with the British crown. It is the self-same spirit that sees with Ostrogorski the true worth of Wesley in the awakening of the popular political consciousness in the following century; or that discerns with Leslie Stephen his real significance in the intellectual impulse which culminated in the Oxford movement under Newman; or that discovers with Lecky the real grandeur of John Wesley in the social conservatism or torpor of the English masses when France was aflame with the Revolution. The truth seems to be that we are grown too squeamish nowadays to proclaim aloud that real essential good may spring from bringing multitudes of individuals to reflect soberly each upon his duty to his Maker and his fellow-men. A shame-faced admission that any particular individual contributed to the growth of humanitarianism is about as far as the cautious spirit of historical criticism thinks it safe to venture.

How greatly Wesley's admirers err in tracing his claim to transcendent greatness back to the secular influences which he indirectly released, may be judged from the fact that it makes him only one of a number of rival claimants for a doubtful honor, instead of leaving him in his splendid isolation as the greatest spiritual force of his century in England. It will always be a tempting historical puzzle to decide who was the strongest influence in the secular politics of England in the eighteenth century. It recalls what the Irish lawyer said of a knotty case—one would like to have a ten-pound note to argue either side. Mr. Birrell avers that "no man lived nearer the centre than John Wesley, neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson." Mr. Lecky attributes to Wesley a great, perhaps the greatest, single rôle in creating that bulwark of conservatism in the English masses against which the French Revolution was destined to break in vain. This attempt of Wesley's advocates, however, to secure for him the honor of "diffusing the Terror," will be regarded by many judicious historians as encroaching upon the peculiar prerogative of Burke. The late J. R. Green, for instance, casts his vote unhesitatingly for Burke. Speaking of the attitude of the English people towards the radicalism of the Revolution, he says that the fact that their "dislike passed slowly into fear and hatred was due above all to the impassioned efforts of Edmund Burke." But Burke is not Wesley's only rival. Carlyle tells us that "the last of the Tories was Johnson, not Burke, as is often said," and that "if England has escaped the blood-bath of a French Revolution, and may yet, in virtue of this delay, and of the experience it has given, work out her deliverance calmly, let Samuel Johnson, beyond all contemporary or succeeding men, have the praise for it."

Perhaps the strangest thing in the strife of these learned historical doctors is that while they differ *toto cœlo* as to the particular individual who averted the internal upheaval in England, tney all tacitly agree in their major premise that such an upheaval was on the boards of fate for that particular season, and could be averted only by a moral miracle. One may be permitted to be a little skeptical about this tremendous assumption. In the past, the muse of history has failed to meet an exceptionally long list of appointments for whose certain occurrence the gravest historians have pledged their credit. At all events, if King George was rescued from the invisible guillotine by so great a number of moral paladins, it may be questioned whether he was ever in very imminent danger. And certain it is that John Wesley's true fame is beclouded and belittled when his mistaken friends attempt to see in him a saviour of society, rather than a noble servant of the Saviour of men.

THE WORK OF LEO XIII.

The interest with which the eyes of all Christendom have been turning to that venerable and pathetic figure in the Vatican is, of course, primarily personal. His is a marvellous individuality. None of the valiant old men of his generation—neither Gladstone nor Bismarck—made such a wonderful impression as has the latest of the Popes. It may, indeed, be doubted if any of those who had before worn what Dante calls the *gran manto* of the Papacy ever succeeded in captivating the imagination of the civilized world in the way of Leo the aged. At ninety he was able to astonish even a Frenchman, the painter Benjamin-Constant, by the brilliancy of his intellect. Yet with serene poise and strength he pressed on for three years more to his jubilee, retaining for twenty-five years that Papal power which, it was supposed, was given for only a short period to a feeble old man in 1878. Leo XIII.'s tenacity and vigor in old age make one credit the stories about that other strenuous nonagenarian of Italy, Dandolo.

But it is as the head of the Catholic Church that the wonderful Pontiff did the work by which he will be judged. As such, his achievements are memorable. Even those not in the Roman communion have freely admitted his greatness. Yet he had, of course, to use the tools which were put in his hands. Even his original and vigorous personality could not escape the limitations of his office, or fail to be moulded by the traditions of the great organization into which he was born and in which he labored so many years. It is said that when he was first elevated to the Papal chair he sent a special envoy to the excommunicated Old Catholic, Dr. Döllinger, with the message, "Come back, for there is another Pope." "Yes," answered the clear-sighted and resolute theologian, "but the same Papacy."

It still remains true, however, that a man of native power may, as Emerson said, assert himself freely even amid the oldest and mouldiest conventions; and Leo XIII. did so, as is confessed by all. Some of the dreams with which, it is said, he entered upon the Papacy were destined to remain unfulfilled. He aspired to restore the Holy See to its old position, as not merely the moderator, but the moving force, in the political life of the civilized world. In 'Italy of To-day' it is affirmed with much truth that the Pope was "more statesman than saint." His views, like his ambitions, were of the widest. His service as Papal Nuncio at Brussels gave him that stamp of the diplomat which never left him. In close touch with the affairs of many nations, his extraordinary memory, his fresh and curious interest in the ongoings of the world, made his comments often as picturesque as his counsels were shrewd. He was, wrote

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the Marquis de Gabriac in his 'Souvenirs d'une Ambassade auprès du Pape Léon XIII.' "a man of his time."

High hopes of political innovations by the new Pope were entertained by many in the early years of his Pontificate. Attention was significantly called to the fact that, on his mother's side, he was descended from Cola di Rienzi. But the drops of revolutionary blood were well diluted by the time they reached the Peccis. The spectacle of a Radical Pope was not yet to be seen. It is true that Leo XIII. fronted the modern world with an attitude very different from that of his predecessor, Pius IX. He did not so obstinately struggle against a united Italy. He did not, in another *Syllabus*, include the democratic movement among modern errors. Leo endeavored to distinguish between the good and the bad in the civilization of his day. To republican government, when it was sane and moderate, he showed himself a good friend. Particularly to the French Republic were his services notable in attempting to conciliate Catholic opinion to the new order of things. His allocutions and pastoral letters were of high value, as French statesmen have been quick to acknowledge, in breaking down the old intransigeant spirit of the leading French Catholics, and in calling into being that very useful political party, the *Ralliés*.

In America the Pope seemed to take an especially vivid interest. It was not merely that the United States contain millions of Catholics. The social and political ferment of which this country is the large scene, appealed peculiarly to his statesmanlike habit of mind. He had, besides, special points of contact with this country. There was the controversy about the Knights of Labor. At first they fell under a quasi-condemnation by Leo XIII. Later, through the intervention of Cardinal Gibbons, the Pope came to a different view. Somewhat similar was his course in the famous case of Dr. McGlynn, condemned at first for supposed economic and social heresies, but afterwards restored to favor as an obedient son of the Church. To the subsequent controversy, apropos of the late Father Hecker, about a certain "Americanism" in the Catholic Church, it is necessary only to refer. In the encyclicals of the Pope on Socialism we see how his sympathy for the struggling and aspiring classes was balanced by his firm sense of the necessary order and stability of society.

"The press is a great power," said Leo XIII. to the Marquis de Gabriac. It was one of the proofs of his insight into the militant forces of his age. "Suppose we start a paper!" one of his Cardinals said to him, only half in jest. The Pope often dwelt upon the immense services which devout and able Catholics could render to both religion and the State through journalism. His own preference was for writing instead of speaking. His predecessor was a ready and fluent orator. He himself was the patient and accurate writer. His own ventures into literature have attracted much attention. There have been learned German articles on "The Pope as a Poet." To the very last he was applying the *labor limæ* to his Latin verses. In that we have a sign of the taste and restraint which marked his whole public life. His refined intellect, his simplicity of life, his unaffected piety, all exalted to eminence by his extraordinary career, have made him an inspiring personage even to those who will not mourn him as a spiritual ruler.

CHARLES OF LORRAINE.

PARIS, June 15, 1903.

A prolific writer, M. Lucien Perey, has just written an account of Charles of Lorraine and the court of Brussels in the reign of Maria Theresa. But little is known of the court of Brussels, which was a distant shadow of the court of Vienna. The daughter of Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy, brought the Low Countries as her dower to her husband, the Emperor Maximilian I. By the Pragmatic Sanction (1548), Charles V. added the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries to the crown of Spain. After many years of a momentous struggle, the treaty of Utrecht declared in 1579 the independence of the five provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Friesland. The republic of the United Low Countries was a century and a half afterwards governed by Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine, the brother-in-law of Maria Theresa.

"This personage," says M. Lucien Perey, "deserves particular attention, as the work which he accomplished in forty years in the Low Countries with so much perseverance, intelligence and devotion is enough to mark him as a sovereign worthy of exceptional study. He pursued, during these long years, the most useful reforms, in a country which he had found nearly ruined, in which commerce, art, science had fallen so low as to have (so to speak) disappeared. After having commanded armies and having long contended, not without success, with the Great Frederick himself, the Prince showed as much ardor in reorganizing the Low Countries as he had shown in defending them. He strove against the ill will of the cabinet of Vienna, and protected the ancient customs and privileges so dear to the Flemish people. Maria Theresa herself did not always second him, and it was only after some years that she rendered him justice."

Charles Alexander of Lorraine was the twelfth child of Duke Leopold and of Princess Charlotte of Orleans, daughter of Philippe of Orleans and of Madame, his second wife, known under the name of the Princess Palatine and as the writer of letters which are justly considered among the most valuable documents on the time of Louis XIV. Madame had much to do with the education of Charlotte. She was a severe mother, and whipped her son, who became Regent, "so much that he still remembered it when he was twenty." The marriage of Princess Charlotte with Duke Leopold took place at Fontainebleau, and was celebrated again in Lorraine at Bar. The sons of Duke Leopold became associated with the destinies of the House of Hapsburg; we have to deal only with Prince Charles, who entered the Austrian service and fought against the Turks. He was in the front rank of the defenders of Maria Theresa in her struggle to defend her rights against Bavaria, Saxony, and the King of Prussia. In recompense for his brilliant services, Maria Theresa gave him the hand of her own sister, Marie Anne, and as the apanage of her sister the government of the Austrian Low Countries. The Archduchess was twenty-six years old. Maria Theresa could not make a better choice for her own interests; husband and wife were intimately attached to the imperial family by ties of kinship, and Charles of Lorraine served her whenever he was called upon to do so. As for his character, it was very well suited to the character and manners of the Belgians. The marriage was celebrated at Brussels on the 17th of January, 1744. Numerous festivities took place on this occasion in Vienna as well as in Brussels. The Prince de Ligne has left us a portrait of Charles of Lorraine:

"One of the finest souls I have known; a soul smiling upon everything. Good, lively, mild, gay, sensitive, quick, such was Prince Charles of Lorraine (brother of our good Emperor Francis), who was very near perfection. The frankness of his soul was painted on his forehead, and his obliging and contagious gaiety showed itself in a smile unaffected by years, neither by the smallpox nor by war, which had altered his beauty."

Prince Charles was hardly installed in his government when France declared war afresh against England and Maria Theresa (1744). The Empress, at the solicitation of King George, gave to Prince Charles the command of the allied armies. The Elector of Bavaria had been crowned Emperor under the name of Charles VII., and the King of Prussia had reappeared again on the battlefields of Europe. Charles's object was to cross the Rhine and to penetrate Alsace. He succeeded in his attempt, crossed the Rhine at two points, and established himself in Alsace with an army of seventy thousand men. His bold crossing of the Rhine was much admired by Frederick the Great, who celebrated it in bad verses in his 'Art de la Guerre':

"Rhin, ennemi, danger, rien n'arrête Lorraine.
Charles, en quatre corps, sépare ses soldats;
À l'endroit où Coigny ne s'y préparait pas,
Un pont construit soudain seconde son audace;
Il surprend les Français, et pénètre en Alsace."

Frederick sent a hundred thousand men into Bohemia, and Charles was obliged to recross the Rhine and leave Alsace. Very soon afterwards he heard the news of his wife's death following her confinement; she had been married only about a year.

The war continued in Germany. The husband of Maria Theresa was crowned Emperor at Frankfort on the 4th of October, 1745, and Prince Charles ordered a Te Deum to be sung in his army, in presence of the enemy. The Austrian cause seemed almost desperate after the victory of the French at Fontenoy and King Frederick's victory at Hohenfriedberg over Prince Charles. The French, under Marshal Saxe, became masters of Ghent, of Brussels. After a new defeat of the allies at Lawfeld, a Congress was summoned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a treaty was signed on the 18th of October, 1748, which confirmed the election of the Emperor Francis, and gave back the Low Countries to Maria Theresa. For no less

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than two years Louis XV. had possessed them, and Maurice of Saxony had been their Governor.

The return of Charles of Lorraine was awaited with great impatience, as he was very popular. He made his entry into Brussels on the 23d of April, 1749, and had a triumphal reception. The Prince, in an

"allegorical chariot drawn by six horses richly adorned, was surrounded by fauns and sylvan deities. On the two sides were seen the River Elbe and the River Danube, with flowing locks and great urns; and Victory kept them chained at her feet. The rest of the cortège was in unison, and all these mythological personages in the midst of hussars and soldiers formed surely the most grotesque assemblage that could be imagined. The Prince was received in a similar manner at Antwerp, Malines, Namur, and Luxembourg. It is difficult to imagine such scenes occurring at Paris or at Versailles without their provoking the laughter and pleasantries of the crowd; but these little facts make us well understand the difference of manners which can exist between two neighboring nations. We have often been struck in our researches by the marked opposition which exists between the ironical spirit of the French and the *bonhomie*, often a little heavy but always good-natured, of the Belgians."

Charles was adored by the Belgians; he respected all their ways and manners; he mingled with all classes of society. He was in active correspondence with Maria Theresa, and gave her an exact account of all the details of government. In 1757 Maria Theresa recalled the Prince and confided to him the mission of defending Bohemia against Frederick of Prussia, her inveterate enemy. Charles left at once for Bohemia, where he joined Marshal Daun. Frederick had an army of nearly a hundred thousand men; Charles had under his direct command but fifty-five thousand. The Imperial troops were defeated; Daun had to retreat, and Charles retired to Prague with his part of the army.

Frederick began the siege of Prague, which lasted forty-two days, at the end of which period Marshal Daun reappeared and fell upon the Prussian lines. Charles made a great sortie, attacked twenty thousand men commanded by Marshal Keith, forced them to retire, and made his junction with Marshal Daun. Prague was delivered. In memory of the joint victory over the King of Prussia, Maria Theresa instituted the order which bears her name.

The military career of Charles of Lorraine had come to an end. After his return to Brussels, the Prince gave himself up completely to the administration of his provinces. M. Lucien Perey has gathered many documents on the court of Brussels, the household of the Prince, his amusements, his palaces, his collections. At that time Brussels was a sort of little Paris, as it is now. In 1780, Charles was, as usual, at Tervueren, with his court; he fell ill, and, to the astonishment of all, he asked for the last sacrament. He was able, a few days afterwards, to chase the boar in the park, but he fell ill again and his malady assumed at once a very grave character. Three days before his death he wrote two lettters, one for the Empress Maria Theresa, the other for her daughter, the Archduchess Marie Anne, which he ordered to be sealed in black. His body was brought back to Brussels and exposed to view for three days in the uniform of the Teutonic order—black clothes, white cloak, with boots and spurs. Curiously enough, it was from the mouth of the King of Prussia, whom Charles of Lorraine had met so often on the battlefield, that the Prince de Ligne learned the news of Prince Charles's death. "If you have to learn the death," said Frederick to the Prince de Ligne, who was his guest at Potsdam, "of a man who loved you and who honored humanity, it is best that it should be from one who feels it so keenly. Poor Prince Charles is no more." Upon which the King spoke at length of his former enemy: "His crossing of the Rhine was a very fine thing, but the poor Prince depended on so many people; I have never depended on anything but my own head. He was not well served, not enough obeyed; this has never happened to me."

Maria Theresa did not long survive her brother-in-law; she died five months after him, on the 29th of November, 1780.

Correspondence.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ALTERNATIVE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

RESPECTED FRIEND: A few days ago one of the most conservative and influential newspapers in Pennsylvania had an editorial on the Fifteenth Amendment, in which occurs the following statement:

"Some two months ago the *Public Ledger* let drop a casual, though not unconsidered, word on the subject of the Fifteenth Amendment. It ventured to commend the justice and wisdom of a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court which refused to give relief to a negro seeking in Alabama the suffrage denied him by the Constitution of that State. This journal expressed the belief that the country now looked upon the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as measures of uncertain wisdom, and that it now seemed disposed to let the States chiefly interested in the negro problem determine the qualifications each of its own citizens, and held that, this conviction having become so prevalent as to constitute a sort of unwritten amendment to the amendment to the Constitution, it was a proper function of the Supreme Court to give it the form of law."

I understand that the decision of the Supreme Court, to which the editorial refers, was based on an alleged lack of jurisdiction over the case as presented; that it did not reach the basic principles of equal suffrage as defined in the Constitution, and hence gives no trustworthy indication of how the Court would treat a different presentation of substantially the same issue. This being so, the importance of the decision may easily be exaggerated, and criticism of the Court on that score had best be suspended.

It also seems pertinent to notice that neither of the amendments in question prohibits any State from determining the qualifications of its own voters, but only from making flesh of one citizen and fowl of another. But the above expression of judgment, by one of the most carefully edited newspapers in the United States, is of peculiar significance as exemplifying an insidious drift of respectable public opinion away from the fundamental principles of law and order. We have been taught by our fathers, and by common sense also, that the purpose of a constitution is either to protect the mass of the people from the despotic rule of a small governing class, or to protect the minority from the despotic rule of the majority; and that the sole function of our Supreme Court is to maintain our whole system of Government and jurisprudence in conformity with the Constitution. In other words, the sole function of the Supreme Court is to perpetuate constitutional republicanism and to prevent our system of government from evolving into an oligarchic despotism. But now it is being proclaimed by the most influential and respectable leaders of public thought that the function of the Supreme Court is to give the form and force of law to what a majority of the nine judges may conjecture is the present desire of a majority of the people. It is obvious that if the Supreme Court is at liberty to add an "unwritten amendment" to the Constitution, and to give such "unwritten amendment" the "form of law," the Constitution itself at once becomes a mere nose of wax, and any five judges of the Supreme Court are empowered to transform this republican Government into an oligarchic despotism—the very thing for the prevention of which the Supreme Court was established.

The power to substitute "unwritten" law for the written law is the power to nullify the written law; and to permit the Supreme Court to assume such power practically transforms the judges into absolute dictators, and virtually destroys constitutional government. And remember, these judges are appointed by the President for life, and are not elected by the people. In giving the form and force of law to "unwritten" law, they would not represent the majority of the people, much less the nation as a whole, but at best they would set up a system of "unwritten" law based on their own surmises as to what the majority want. And from "unwritten" law based on surmises as to the desires of the majority of the people it would be a very short step to "unwritten" law based on the desires of the judges or of the judges' masters. Instead of being the most independent tribunal in the world, and the farthest removed from temptation—the protection of the weak and the minority, and the incorruptible bulwark of our free institutions—as it was intended to be, the Supreme Court would be transformed into a machine for the manufacture of sophistry for the nullification of the Constitution, and would soon become the most effective shield for the rule of a tyrannical oligarchy ever devised even by kingcraft.

The rule of the majority of the people regardless of law is mob rule; and when the judges of our courts base their decisions on the supposed desires of the majority—or on "unwritten" law as a substitute for the written law—they are undermining popular respect for the written law, and doing what they can (unwittingly, of course) to encourage lawlessness, which in its last analysis is the rule of the mob. And with the rule of the mob, in the natural course of events, the "man on horseback" appears upon the scene.

ISAAC W. GRISCOM.

PHILADELPHIA, 7th mo., 3d, 1903.

"DEBASEMENT OF THE SUFFRAGE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. E. L. C. Morse of this city, in the *Nation* of June 25, illustrates what his

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"better classes of the community" are pleased in their languid way to regard "The Debasement of the Suffrage" by an incident from his own experience at the late judicial election here. Mr. Morse reports an interview in a drug store at South Chicago, while the election was in progress, with "the owner of the store, a real-estate man, a railroad agent, a bookkeeper, and a physician." It seems that these citizens declined to go three blocks to vote to fill fourteen judicial posts, because, as Mr. Morse reports, they in effect said: "What is the use? We shall be swamped by a gang of Poles, Hungarians, and yawps that can't speak English, don't understand the system of government, and vote just as they are told to vote by their boss," etc.

Your correspondent, had he studied the returns of the election named, would have been less troubled by the abstention of his representatives of "the better classes" from voting. Indeed, in view of the result of that election, to say nothing of repeated demonstrations in recent years of independent voting here, his "voters of light weight and dubious intrinsic value" seem to have taken themselves off without waiting the uncertain movements of our statesmen.

The election in question was held to fill our entire circuit bench, there being twenty-eight candidates for fourteen judicial positions. It is held every six years on June 1, to avoid political complications. The Republican ticket was headed by Judge Haney, who was a candidate to succeed himself. Judge Haney, while in office, ran for the nomination of his party for the Governorship of Illinois, and was its candidate for the Mayoralty of Chicago. He was widely regarded as a dangerous man for judicial service. He was repudiated by the bar primary, held after the party nominations were made, and by the entire independent press. The party machine did its utmost to reëlect him. His leading Democratic opponent, the venerable and beloved Judge Tuley, was strongly supported by the bar and the independent press. Judge Tuley and all but two of those thus supported were triumphantly elected, most of them by overwhelming majorities. The story is told by the totals of the votes cast for the leading candidates. Judge Tuley received about 108,000, Judge Haney about 63,000 votes. Of twenty-eight candidates, Judge Haney stood third from the foot of the poll.

The vote of the Eighth Ward is significant. In this ward is situated South Chicago. Here reside Mr. Morse's choice representatives of "the better classes," who regarded themselves above voting with the plain but intelligent men, of many nationalities, who man the steel works and other great industrial plants in that industrial section of the city. The ward is Republican on national issues. Yet Judge Tuley received 60 per cent. and Judge Haney but 40 per cent. of the vote cast. In view of this splendid response by a "lot of cattle" in South Chicago to public-spirited leadership, Mr. Morse's illustration should cause the friends of good government elsewhere no serious uneasiness about the "debasement of the suffrage" here.

We shall no doubt continue to have among us those who shrink from mingling with plain people even at the polls. While others lead a successful struggle to maintain representative government, they will quietly long for a restricted suffrage which is as impossible as it is undesirable. The truth is, that we have no reserve of intelligence or of virtue upon which to fall back or rely. The cure for the ills of democratic government is not to be found in less, but in more democracy.

Yours very truly,

EDWIN BURRITT SMITH.

CHICAGO, July 1, 1903.

THE SCIENTIFIC IMAGINATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the recent newspaper discussion of the hypothesis of Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge and others, concerning the constitution of matter, I have been quoted occasionally as a somewhat scornful opponent of the new ideas. Since these reports by no means represent the subject in a true light, I venture to write this letter in order to correct the misunderstanding.

A quotation from Sir William Crookes's article, which is now accessible to all in the issue of *Science* for June 26, will perhaps most easily clarify the case. He says:

"Indulging in a 'scientific use of the imagination' and pushing the hypothesis of the electronic constitution of matter to what I believe to be its logical limit, we may be, in fact, witnessing a spontaneous dissociation of radium, and we begin to doubt the permanent stability of matter. . . . It must never be forgotten that theories are only useful so long as they admit of the harmonious correlation of facts into a reasonable system. . . . Are we not incessantly learning the lesson that our researches have only a provisional value? A hundred years hence, shall we acquiesce in the resolution of the material universe into a swarm of rushing electrons?"

The conditional statement and frank interrogation, appearing in this final climax of his, place him in a very different position from that to be inferred from the daily papers. Here is no claim to a great discovery, but merely the statement of the possible consequence of pushing an avowedly hypothetical inference to its logical extreme, with full recognition of the likelihood of its fallibility. With such an attitude no reasonable person can quarrel. The hypothesis that the hypothetical atom is divisible—and this is the particular proposal which has caused so much excitement—is, indeed, not unreasonable; but it is not the only possible explanation of the facts. In view of this circumstance, and also of the very recent discovery and the surprising nature of some of the phenomena concerning radium and the Röntgen rays, it seems to me premature to own unswerving allegiance to any definite interpretation at present.

The popular discussion of this question, as of so many scientific questions, has been much confused by the inability of many writers to distinguish between fact and hypothesis; and it was against this confusion that I argued in the interview which led to the exaggerated report. Facts are determined by observation and experiment, and their truth depends only upon the accuracy of the observation and experiment. Their discovery is a lasting addition to the knowledge of mankind. On the other hand, hypotheses are attempts to interpret the facts; and many hypotheses, from their very nature, can never be proved. Although usually transitory, they are often very useful in suggesting further experimentation; but they become dangerous when mistaken for realities. Faraday, one of the greatest of scientific discoverers, dreamt many such scientific dreams; they were his leading inspiration, and they never harmed his work because he always recognized their true place. In the same way, these new inferences concerning the reasons of the remarkable behavior of radium may be highly suggestive and therefore valuable, if their inevitable limitations are always borne in mind.

I am, sir, yours very truly,

THEODORE WILLIAM RICHARDS.

PETERBORO', N. H., July 2, 1903.

THE FROUDE AND CARLYLE CONTROVERSY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Is not this Froude and Carlyle dispute a specimen of the growing disregard of privacy and delicacy under the influence of sensationalism which is a rather unpleasant feature of our marvellous generation? A man of the old type, having such papers bequeathed him, might have been apt, on his return from the funeral, to put them into the fire.

Mrs. Carlyle must, I cannot help thinking, have been extremely sensitive if she could fancy that Lady Ashburton intentionally slighted her or did anything to hurt her feelings. Lady Ashburton was a queenly sort of woman, a great lady, perhaps one of the last of that race. But her heart was as kind as her wit was bright. She showed no pride of rank, and was anxious to make everybody happy. Carlyle, as his letters show, adored her, and she was an intense admirer of the writings of Carlyle. Mrs. Carlyle's gifts, since displayed in her letters, had not then been revealed.

Froude was a man of genius and a most fascinating writer. But, without impeaching his integrity, it may be said that he had a vivid imagination. As a writer of travels, he astonishes the natives of the countries by some of his descriptions. As an historian, he can make a pure and beneficent hero of Henry VIII.; see reforming genius embodied in Thomas Cromwell; take the Statutes of Laborers for records of impartial arbitration between classes, Tudor Parliaments for independent assemblies, and an adulteration of the coin for a loan from the mint. In his treatment of the characters of Thomas More and other victims of Henry VIII., to whose murders he wishes to reconcile us, there is an apparent artfulness which it is charitable to set down to the influence of the same luxuriant fancy.

Froude was evidently impressible, and he underwent the influence of two men, both of genius, but neither of them safe as an ordinary guide. John Henry Newman, with whom Froude collaborated in the 'Lives of the English Saints,' thought and taught upon the principle that what was good for you to believe must be true. The 'Grammar of Assent' is a mental apparatus constructed under the influence of that principle. Carlyle's genius was

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splendid. He gave history a fresh life, and he probably did Democracy good by snubbing it. But who would take the hero-worshipper for a practical guide? What can be more monstrous than the moral paradoxes of his 'Frederick the Great'? You could not be in Carlyle's company for a day without seeing that his cynicism and pessimism were unmeasured.

One evening at "The Grange" we came out after dinner on the lawn. A glorious moon met our eyes. There were a few moments of pensive silence; then a voice was heard exclaiming "Puir auld thing!" We were left to guess whether the moon was "puir" in herself or because she was doomed to look down upon vile humanity.

It was at that time, if I remember rightly, that Tennyson was one of the circle at "The Grange." He was asked to read one of his own poems aloud, which he was supposed to be not unwilling to do. To the general surprise and disappointment he refused. Looking across the room, I saw the cause of the difficulty. Close to Tennyson was Carlyle, who had not failed in the universal sweep of his philosophy to pass an opinion upon poetry in its relation to common sense. Devoting myself to the public good, I went across and invited Carlyle to a stroll in the grounds. He accepted the invitation, and while we strolled the reading came off. This little incident, which I had totally forgotten, was recalled to my memory not long ago by a writer in a London paper; so that, though forty-six years have passed since I received Lady Ashburton's last message of farewell, there is probably at least one member of that circle besides myself still alive to bear testimony to the character of its hostess. GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO, June 30, 1903.

THE ETHICS OF BOOK-MAKING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Last winter I subscribed to the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' issued by the London *Times*. It was promised to consist of thirty-five volumes; and when the first thirty had been received, I had a bookcase made especially for it. Recently, volumes 34 and 35, containing the Atlas and the Index, came, and proved to be nearly an inch higher than the other thirty-three volumes. As I had measured close for my bookcase, they do not fit the shelves; but whether they fitted or not, what right has a reputable concern to issue without warning two volumes in a large set which do not match the others?

The agent informs me that the great bulk of material caused the increase in size, and that these volumes are particularly fine. As to the excellence of the whole work there is no question; but what has excellence or defect to do with uniform size and binding? If you subscribe to any complete edition of Scott or Thackeray, or to an encyclopædia, have you not the right to expect uniformity? How would the subscribers to the Oxford Dictionary feel if they were to receive now a quarto, and now a folio, or smaller section?

In this case there seems to be no redress, as the harm has already been done. I write to warn those who have not already bought the 'Britannica' what they have to expect, and, still more, to impress on publishers that they are under a moral obligation to commit no such surprises as this.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., July 2, 1903.

Notes.

A 'Reader's History of American Literature,' by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, is in the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and a Life of Henry Ward Beecher by Lyman Abbott.

'American Railways,' announced by Macmillan Co., is a reprint of letters to the London *Times* by their special commissioner, Edwin A. Pratt.

Jacob A. Riis is at work on a new book, 'Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen,' for the Outlook Co.

Kipling's new volume of poems to be published by Doubleday, Page & Co. will bear the title 'The Five Nations.'

James Pott & Co. will bring out 'The Tail of the Peacock,' personal experiences in Morocco by Miss Isabel Savory.

We have already called attention to the inclusion of the *princeps* of the Authorized Version, 'The Tudor Bible,' among Mr. David Nutt's notable "Tudor Translations," as pure literature. The second and third volumes are now to be had (Judges to Esther, Job to the Song of Solomon), and three more are to come before Christmas. "A terminal essay" is promised by Mr. William E. Henley, the editor of the series. Typographically, this is one of the most rational and attractive reproductions of the Bible. Six hundred copies, in this case as with the other "Tudors," constitute the edition.

The 'Annual Register' for 1902 (Longmans) is the close-packed repository that it has so long been; strongest and fullest in its review of English history for the year, but omitting no considerable quarter of the globe. Four writers have had in charge the two Americas, and the United States has been well looked after. The daily chronicle of events succeeds, and then comes the usual retrospect of literature, science, and art. An extensive obituary and index conclude this valuable book of reference.

Ginn & Co., Boston, publish for the International Union a selection of 'Discourses on War,' by William Ellery Channing, with an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. The range includes both abstract presentations of the theme and the famous letter on the annexation of Texas. The discourses proper are truly such, of the pulpit, argued on Scriptural and Christian grounds; remarkable for want of graphic power in depicting the horrors of war; never quite going to the bottom of the subject. They lack both relief and vigor. An hour with Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' or with his Sebastopol sketches would leave a far more vivid impression, and perhaps enforce the moral more securely. Still, Dr. Channing's humane teachings can but do good wherever read. Mr. Mead has done well to quote entire a memorial to Congress drafted by Channing some ninety years ago, praying for a universal pacific declaration on the part of the United States, and the establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of international disputes without resort to arms.

The New London County (Conn.) Historical Society, upon undertaking some Occasional Publications, has resorted to the Norwich Free Academy Press, a unique branch of secondary education in this country so far as we are informed. 'The Stone Records of Groton,' edited from the manuscripts of the late antiquary and historian, Miss Frances Manwaring Caulkins, by Miss Emily S. Gilman, is a comely volume highly creditable to the Academy's pupils, of both sexes, who executed all the printing and illustrations, as well as the binding. The title of the book fits best the collection of gravestone inscriptions (with pen-sketches of the stones); but there are also chapters on Mason's expedition against the Pequots, and the traitor Arnold's against New London.

The twenty-second volume of the New Jersey Archives, 'Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey,' is edited by William Nelson, and consists of Marriage Records 1665-1800. For the counties of Bergen, Hudson, and Essex they are exhaustive so far as the material is extant; but much has perished. These church records succeed a transcript of the index to the marriage records in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton. Mr. Nelson's learned introduction reviews in upwards of a hundred pages the early marriage laws of New Jersey, with excursions into New England, New York, Pennsylvania, etc. There are fourteen distinct alphabetically ordered lists. That for males of the Friends gives also some of the witnesses to the ceremony.

The fourth in "Appletons' Series of Historic Lives" is Sir William Johnson, by Augustus C. Buell. Of perennial interest is the story of the young Irishman, who became a great landowner, a successful general, one of the few American baronets, and finally Superintendent for the Crown over all the Indians east of the Mississippi. Mr. Buell published two years ago an excellent life of Paul Jones; it is regrettably evident that this book cannot be placed in the same class. Of Johnson two excellent biographies already exist, the standard 'Life of Sir William Johnson,' by Stone, and the more recent 'Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations,' by Griffis. Little of importance is added by the present work, and that little is not always well authenticated. Those who are already familiar with the times and events mentioned may find some pleasure in reading a new version, but the hasty and careless way in which the book seems to have been put together prevents its acceptance as an authority or even as a convenient popular account.

S. R. Gardiner's 'History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate' was nearing completion at the moment of the author's death. At least, three volumes had been finished, and something had been done towards the preparation of a fourth volume which was to have concluded this splendid series of works on the early Stuart period. However, the only portion of the final instalment that Mrs. Gardiner and Mr. Firth have thought it proper to print is a single chapter entitled 'The Parliamentary Elections of 1656.' This fragment is now published by the Longmans as a supplement to

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volume iii. rather than as the beginning of volume iv. It is marked by the same qualities of thoroughness and impartiality which are so closely associated with Gardiner's name and have given his writings their standing as preëminent authorities for the times of James I., Charles I., and Cromwell.

'The Correspondence of Lady Burghersh with the Duke of Wellington' (Dutton) is now published, though with some diffidence, by her daughter, Lady Rose Weigall. The reason for publication is that the letters display the Duke's kindliness towards those of his family and of his intimate circle. The ground of the editor's diffidence is that the correspondence is one of domestic rather than of public interest. The book supplies a striking commentary on the Duke's character, illustrating his undoubted fondness for the society of ladies, and also the warmth of his geniality where personal friends were concerned.

Canon Rawnsley's 'Lake Country Sketches' (Macmillan) is the sixth volume of his contribution to the subject of the Lakes and Lake poets. It is prefaced with the usual sonnet, and contains some pages of the writer's original verse. The longest essay is on "Wordsworth and the Peasantry," and describes exhaustive interviews with the "lad whose wont it was to serve the Rydal Mount kitchen with meat"—the butcher, in fact; with the "one-time gardener's lad" and the "page or butler's assistant." Hence we learn that Wordsworth had "an antipathy to veal," was extremely unpopular with the peasantry, and finally that a whole countryside of aged dotards, spurred by Canon Rawnsley to remember or invent, rank his poetry and his personality a good way below the achievements of Hartley Coleridge. For collecting the greatest number of Wordsworthiana in a single country walk and for composing sonnets about them, Canon Rawnsley holds the record. He is now, in the matter of production, neck and neck with Boswell, and shows no signs of giving out. But, for his readers, the eighteenth century will always retain the incalculable advantage that Boswell was no poet.

The 'Album-Kern,' published last April in Leiden in honor of the well-known Dutch Sanskritist, contains three papers not likely to fall under the eye of Greek scholars, though in their sphere of interest. The first two are grammatical, on the history of the Greek participle and of the Greek passive aorist (the latter *contra* Wackernagel). The third is a far-reaching etymology of Sophus Bugge, who derives *Olympus* from Anatolian *olun-kh* (λόφος, *dorsum*), and thence concludes that Thessaly was originally settled by tribes that did not speak Greek, but were related to the Armenians.

The Bulletin of the American Geographical Society for April notes the new limitation of the words hydrography and hydrology proposed in connection with the reorganization of the hydrographic branch of the Geological Survey. The two words are no way distinguished as to subject-matter by etymology; but the usage in the dictionaries seems rather to make hydrology the general word, referring to the properties of water, its laws, etc., while hydrography discusses the distribution of water as a part of the terraqueous globe. In the encyclopædias, however, hydrology holds little place, and the tendency is to make hydrography cover the whole subject. It is now purposed to confine hydrography to the discussion of surface water, while hydrology will imply the study of underground water resources; and so the irrigation laws of the West make necessary (?) a new term in science. Prof. Israel C. Russell writes of "Geography and International Boundaries," and comments on the advantages which subjects would gain if statesmen had geographical experts at their elbows when the problem was to lay down boundaries of countries in treaties and other settlements.

In the *National Geographic Magazine* for July Mr. H. W. Wiley of the Agricultural Department gives some interesting facts about our soils and their products. It appears that the money value of the corn crop is nearly twice that of hay, the next in value, cotton, being the third. There are nearly six million farms, worth a little more than twenty thousand million dollars, of which almost two-thirds are cultivated by their owners. Mr. Wiley makes no question that, by the application of scientific principles to agriculture the food supply will keep pace with the increase of population. "When in a hundred years from now we are feeding two hundred million people, the quantity of food per head will be no less abundant than at present." Some striking illustrations of Western farming scenes accompany the article.

The great geographical enterprises of the reign of Queen Elizabeth are commemorated in the *Geographical Journal* for June, in connection with the tercentenary of her death. Sir Walter Raleigh's achievements are described by Edmund Gosse, who regards him "as the most splendid example of the geographer and patron of geographical literature who approaches his science in the pure light of imagination." Sir Francis Drake's greatest glory, according to Julian Corbett, was the discovery of Cape Horn, named by him after his beloved mistress "Cape Elizabeth." Upon this alone he dwells, giving an interesting explanation of the mystery which for a time shrouded "one of the four great discoveries of the world." Prof. S. P. Thompson tells of William Gilbert, who, in his monumental work 'De Magnete,' "laid the foundations of terrestrial magnetism and of the experimental science of electricity." Sir C. R. Markham briefly narrates the exploits of the other leading explorers of that time. Of the remaining contents are a geological illustrated description of Charnwood Forest, "a buried Triassic landscape," and a study of the cartography, with maps, of Spitzbergen, by Sir Martin Conway. An account of Basutoland, the Switzerland of South Africa, is suggestive as showing the development of practical enterprise on the part of the African native. "Following the road south [from Maseru, the capital] to the southernmost border, you pass through almost one continuous stretch of maize, wheat, oats, or sorghum, according to the time of the year. No sooner is one crop out of the ground than another is put in."

Petermann's Mitteilungen, number five, opens with a study of the volcanic region of the Southern Andes, which consists mainly in giving the positions and heights of the different volcanoes. One hundred and seventy-two of these are designated on the accompanying map. Dr. A. Eichhorn contributes two sunshine-charts for Germany, for the whole year and for the winter, with notes, from which it appears that the cloudiest region is in Thuringia and the sunniest in Baden and eastern Prussia. The longest article in the number is an account of a work published by our Government in 1900 giving the latest scientific facts, etc., collected by the Jesuits in the Philippines. It is characterized, next to Blanco's Lexicon and Flora, as "the weightiest and most important publication on these islands in the Spanish tongue of the last century."

The two newest sheets in the large-scale reissue of the New Jersey State Atlas by the Geological Survey show but a minimum of the State's territory, which, in the Shark River sheet, divides about equally with the ocean, and extends along the shore from Deal Lake to Manasquan, while the New York Bay sheet admits only Bergen Point (Greenville to Constable Hook). Staten Island and Long Island furnish most of the land surface. The activity of the Survey is further illustrated by the appearance of the third volume, 'The Palæozoic Faunas,' of the Report on Palæontology, by Stuart Weller, Ph.D., and the fifth volume of the Final Report of the State Geologist, being 'The Glacial Geology of New Jersey,' by Prof. Rollin D. Salisbury, with the collaboration of Dr. Henry B. Kümmel, Charles E. Peet, and George N. Knapp. The former volume is strictly technical, and is illustrated by 52 plates. Prof. Salisbury, on the other hand, prefaces his discussion with a general survey of glacial processes and phenomena which the layman will find lucid and informing. The volume, of nearly 800 pages, is plentifully supplied with illustrations and maps.

An 'Analytical and Topical Index to the Reports of the Chief of Engineers and Officers of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army,' in three volumes, covering the period from 1866 to 1900, has been published. It has been compiled under the direction of Lieut.-Col. C. W. Raymond by Mr. John McClure, assisted by Mr. E. L. Stratton, jr. In this index is incorporated the material contained in the three index volumes published in 1881, 1889, and 1895, respectively. Volumes i. and ii. are devoted to "River and Harbor Works," Volume iii. to "Fortifications, Bridges, Laws, Miscellaneous, and Topical Index," and contain many references not included in the previous volumes.

In his account of 'The Geology of Kalahandi State,' published in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Dr. T. L. Walker briefly describes the inhabitants of this little-known region. There are two distinct peoples, the Hindoos and the Khonds. The former inhabit the plain which forms the northwestern half of the State. They speak Uryia and are perhaps of Aryan descent. The Khonds, who live on an undulating plateau in the southern part of the State, are aborigines who devote themselves to agriculture and the collection of forest products. They are only very slightly influenced by the doctrines of their Hindoo neighbors, and seem to be but little behind them in civilization. The Khond is light-hearted and shy; his great virtue is truthfulness, his vice drunkenness. Geologically, Kalahandi is made up of non-fossiliferous rocks, chiefly crystalline schists and transitions.

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CARNEGIE BRANCH,

We note the formation of "The Morris Society" in Chicago in May last, having for its objects some commemoration of William Morris's life, as in the publication of his collected writings in special and in popular library editions, together with essays interpretative of his work as writer, craftsman and social reformer, or akin to it in spirit and tendency, and also permanent clubrooms in Chicago for a centre of propaganda. Particulars may be had of the secretary, Oscar L. Triggs, No. 5634 Madison Avenue, Chicago.

—Dr. Franklin B. Dexter's great task in emulation of Sibley's 'Harvard Biographies' now completes the parallel in number of volumes. The third of his 'Yale Biographies and Annals' (Henry Holt & Co.) covers the period 1763-1773, midway in which President Clap's resignation was at last brought about, and an effective hold secured on the General Assembly's annual bounty (through the import duty on rum and otherwise). At the very close, President Stiles appears upon the scene, and Dr. Dexter's familiarity with his diary and personality warrants deep regret if this series is not to be continued, for want of time and strength, over Dr. Stiles's incumbency, so much would the Annals prefixed to the biographies of each class be enriched; and it is largely in them that we find the savor of the decade under consideration in the present volume. Thus, for the college year 1772-73 a formal commencement debate is recorded on the "advanced question" "Whether the Education of Daughters be not, without any just reason, more neglected than that of Sons?" And the future Gov. Oliver Wolcott, jr., is cited for a description of gownless freshmen "in the yard" (not yet *campus*) made to fag, out of study hours, as "waiters or servants to the Authority, President, Professors, Tutors, and Undergraduates." Yet already, five years before, the alphabetical arrangement of the catalogue of each class had superseded that according to social rank. Dr. Dexter is at pains to set down the traces of an early anti-slavery conscience. For example, the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin's newspaper essays, "Observations on the Slavery of Negroes and on Slave-keeping" (1773-4), though twelve years behind John Woolman's "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," "took what was at that time advanced ground in condemnation of slavery." The Rev. Elam Potter and his classmate, Judge Theodore Sedgwick, were also in the same honorable company, in benevolent feeling and action at least. To be remarked, further, is the mortality of wives, and the proneness, especially among the clergy, to triple marriages. One feels the westward migration from the coast to interior New England, to Wyoming (Pa.), to Western New York, to Ohio. Manasseh Cutler, class of 1765, is one of the leading names in this section. Others are Jared Ingersoll, the much-married Dr. Nathanael Emmons, Judge John Trumbull (author of 'McFingal'), President Timothy Dwight, and Gen. Hull. Few are the graduates regarding whom something has not been gleaned, even if as meagre as William Giles's inventory—a suit of clothes and nine books. On but one is the biographer's censure loosened unreservedly, the "infamous" Rev. Samuel Ely, fomenter of Shays's rebellion. Dr. Dexter's performance is consistent, accurate, and authoritative, highly to be praised in every respect, especially for the bibliographies. A pious complement to his labors would be an album of portraits of his graduates. He notices them wherever he can; many exist in printed works, and Yale owns not a few. They should be got together.

—The 'New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle,' recently noticed in these columns, have called out a posthumous Froude counterblast, 'My Relations with Carlyle' (Charles Scribner's Sons). This pamphlet of some eighty pages is introduced and explained in a "prefatory note" by Ashley A. Froude and Margaret Froude, who say that as Mr. Froude's representatives they feel bound, after the 'New Letters,' to use what means they possess to vindicate his memory. They accordingly give to the world Froude's own account of his relations with Carlyle—pencil notes, written in a note-book, and, so far as is known, shown by him to no one. Some pages are omitted as being of "too intimate a nature to be given to the public," but the gist of them appears in a condensed form, the narrative being continued and concluded in Froude's own words. The notes were written in Cuba in 1887, and there is appended to them an elaborate letter from Sir James Stephen (coexecutor with Froude of Carlyle's will) to Froude, written at the latter's request, and giving the writer's account (it is intended as a justification) of Froude's "connection with the papers of Mr. Carlyle which formed the materials" of Froude's publications. Carlyle's will is also given in full. The story embodied in the letter is long and intricate, but Froude's own *apologia* is simple enough. It amounts to a reiteration of the original Froude view of Carlyle's character and relations with his wife, with "new matter" tending to reinforce that view. Some of this will be thought by many of "too intimate a nature to be given to the public," for it is unfit for public discussion and comment. It raises questions as to which even courts of justice prefer to take evidence with closed doors. We can hardly see how any injustice done to Froude, even as estimated by his representatives, could palliate the production by them of such details, assuming them to be true.

—But, apart from this, there are points connected with the publication which can perfectly well be discussed. As a whole, the pamphlet deepens the impression which the original books left, that Froude's manner of discharging his trust, satisfactory as it may have been to his coexecutor, had a most malign effect on the reputation of the man whom he regarded as his master and teacher. This may have been an editor's misfortune, but it is no reply to say either that it was not intended, or that it was Froude's duty as biographer not to suppress the truth. By comparing the revelations made in this pamphlet with the original publications, it will be seen that a great deal *was* kept back, as unnecessary to a correct picture; this is now published, it must be supposed with Froude's conditional ante-mortem assent, not to correct the portrait, but in retaliation for criticism of the biographer. The capital fact that Froude, the chosen disciple, blackened his teacher's reputation, would have been much better met, to our mind, by a display of that spirit of remorse of which the teacher himself showed himself so lavish over his wife's grave. It is a bungler who meets it, either by saying, "Why, I have not told you half," and proceeds to lay on some additional touches, or who insists, as Froude also does, that he was the last person who should be suspected of having wilfully misrepresented Carlyle's character, because he revered him so deeply. It was the effect of his biography that was quarrelled with, not his original intention. Then there is the question of Froude's own accuracy and even veracity. He does not meet this by admitting that his book was full of "printers' blunders" or "errors of the press." It was with his own blunders and errors that fault was found. The most important point made, perhaps, is, that, in the opinion of Sir James Stephen, Froude dealt as to pecuniary matters in an honorable and liberal way with Carlyle's representatives; but no point in the whole controversy has aroused less general interest than this. In the end we are left where we began: the chosen disciple has given us a picture of his master as a boorish if not cruel husband, an irresponsible dealer in invective and execration, whose old age was saddened by a remorse so profound as to suggest a hopeless sense of unexpiated wickedness. Froude's mistake was in supposing that the congregation would throw up their caps in delight over such a portrait of their pastor. The present publication makes it seem as if the biographer had been wholly insensible to what he had done. But *litera scripta manet*, especially in the case of writing as vivid and entertaining as Froude's.

—The Easy Chair in *Harper's* settles the Carlyle problem by deciding that both sides are right as to facts. Carlyle was unkind to his wife and often made her unhappy, but none the less he had always an ardent love for her. Froude was in grave error in his failure to see that Carlyle's bitter remorse after her death was the measure of his abiding love, not of unkindness and lack of love. Her temper was much the same as his, with the difference of a much narrower outlook, and each of them was doubtless happier with the other than would have been possible with any one else or in single life. In the Editor's Study certain phases of college life are considered, and from a point of view which many would now call antiquated. Put the mind early to the study of Latin and Greek, and thus instil into it the grammatical instinct necessary to the development of good English, while at the same time you develop the imagination by the stories of Homer, Virgil, and Æsop. Prolong the period of absorption and inspiration rather than abbreviate it, and thus deepen the capacity and enlarge the possibilities of the future. In speaking of the "ample time for reading and reflection" of the four-years college course, we fear that the writer assumes a condition practically unknown in most colleges of to-day, and that not so much because of the hurry to get through in less than four years, as of the student tendency to the multiplication of unimportant activities destructive to consecutive reading and reflection. The recent book of F. W. H. Myers draws from Dr. Alexander F. Chamberlain of Clark University a discussion of the "Survival of Human Personality" distinctly favorable to the idea of survival after physical death, though of course dis-

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claiming the possibility of its scientific demonstration.

—The editors of the *Atlantic* have tried the experiment of making up the July number almost exclusively from the work of California writers. The leading place is naturally given to a paper on the "Literary Development of the Pacific Coast," by Herbert Bashford. We find in Mr. Bashford's paper rather too much sympathy with the idea that, in order to have a literature of its own, the Coast must "get clean away from ancient restrictions and stereotyped forms," "throw off the musty grip of the past," etc. Ordinarily this does not mean much else than to neglect the fundamental principles of grammar and rhetoric, and substitute chaos for cosmos in the presentation of one's thought. A literature dominated by a conscious and pugnacious determination to be different from the best that has been done in the past, can readily gain that particular end, but its distinction is not apt to be durable or enviable. Not "Be different from the past," but

"Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna,"

is the motto most likely to produce a literature commensurate with the high level of intelligence and activity which exists beyond the Rockies, assuming that the models of the past be studied not for mere superficial imitation, but to get at their underlying principles and apply these principles intelligently to the subject-matter and conditions of the present. That there is in California some very serious study of the literatures of other times and places is amply demonstrated in Prof. Charles Mills Gayley's answer to the question, "What is 'Comparative Literature'?" The two great universities of the Coast speak through their respective presidents; Dr. Jordan writing of the function of the "Voice of the Scholar" in bringing Democracy back from its constant aberrations to the lines of truth and progress, and Dr. Wheeler pleading for a culture more thoroughly in harmony with the conditions of our national life than those types which have been developed in other lands and under different conditions.

—Aside from fiction the main points of interest in the July *Scribner's* are Gen. John B. Gordon's continuation of his papers on the civil war, and Charles E. Magoon's article on the "Administration of Civil Government by the War Department." Mr. Magoon considers it a piece of good fortune that it has fallen in the way of the military authorities to administer civil government to so great an extent in the islands wrested from Spain, and displays the usual inability of the man of military connections to realize the essential difference between civil government imposed from without, under the sanction of powder and lead, and civil government which is the free choice of the governed. In the smooth sophistry with which he glides over the denial to Cuba of some of the most vital elements of national independence, Mr. Magoon easily wins a brilliant rhetorical triumph over all competitors. It was once supposed that you could not eat your cake and still have it, but, thanks to the political rhetoric of today, you may even be compelled to let some one else eat it and still have it (if only you are willing to let the other party be the judge). General Gordon's reminiscences in this issue are devoted wholly to the battle of Gettysburg. Waiving the question as to what would have been the effect of a Confederate victory in this battle, he argues forcibly that such a victory was possible if only Lee had had the hearty and immediate coöperation of his entire army in carrying out his plans. In the "Flying Colleen Bawn," James B. Connolly contributes one of the best of his effective sea stories.

—This year's Romanes Lecture was given on June 12 in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, by Sir Oliver Lodge, head of the new Birmingham University, on "Modern Views of Matter," a theme, he said, belonging to the more philosophical side of physics, "which has always seemed to me most suitable for study in this university." These words might be viewed as an early and urbane contribution toward the "delimitation of spheres of influence" between Sir Oliver's new university and her ancient compeer in the English Midlands. The body of his discourse contained (1) unspeculative theses briefly stated as agreed upon by physicists, and (2) more speculative opinions plainly denominated hypotheses. As dogmatic theses Sir Oliver stated (*a*) that matter and electricity possess alike the property of inertia or mass popularly associated with matter alone. This attribute, however, in order to become appreciable in an electric charge, requires extreme concentration, and must therefore be associated with "bodies of far less than microscopic size." (*b*) That every atom of matter, when electrified, has as its ionic charge an integral multiple of a certain definite amount of electricity, which may figure as an atom of electricity, and, when dissociated from atoms of the ordinary kind, is called an electron. (*c*) That, through Prof. J. J. Thomson's mathematical data, we can measure the mass of such an electron at one-thousandth of that of a hydrogen atom. The electron, continued the lecturer, is at present supposed to be indivisible, and the electrification of an atom to consist in the attachment to it or the detraction from it of an electron. An atom thus increased is called an ion, and designated as negative; an atom thus diminished is called a positive ion. This not seriously inconvenient inversion in the application of terms was accidental, and dates from Benjamin Franklin. In answer to the question whether the electron has a material nucleus, Sir Oliver conjectured that it had none, but consisted of electricity alone, and, further, that the hydrogen atom might be a grouping of, say, 700 electrons, 350 positive, and 350 negative, interlaced or interlocked in a state of violent motion so as to produce a stable configuration. Indeed, on this view, all the elements would be "different groupings of one fundamental constituent." Unfortunately, the positive electron implied by this theory has never yet, like the negative electron, been "constantly and freely encountered flying about alone." Atoms thus understood could not be permanent, for, in losing energy by radiation—due to electrical charges in rapid orbital motion—they suffer change. The lecturer met this difficulty by scrutinizing investigations "chiefly in France and in Canada, some of the most striking having been made within the present year," which remove "an electric theory of matter" from the "realm of fancy to the region of probability." Professor Rutherford, M. and Mme. Curie have so dealt with the phenomena of radio-activity that "we appear to be face to face with a phenomenon quite new in the history of the world," the transmutation of elements; really possible, though requiring for its achievement millions of millions of centuries. "In fact, the whole of existing matter appears liable to processes of change, and in that sense to be a transient phenomenon." But this change, if ever clearly demonstrated, need not be supposed to involve diminution only; there may be regeneration as well as degradation.

—M. Salomon Reinach has added to his valuable series of "Répertoires" a collection of heads, under the title 'Recueil de Têtes Antiques Idéales ou Idéalisées' (Paris: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*). The form chosen for this publication is considerably larger than that of his collection of statues, the book itself being an octavo, with one head on each plate; and in a considerable number of cases two different views of the same head are given on successive plates. As the total number of plates is 276, it will be seen that the collection by no means approaches completeness, which the author says he has made no attempt to attain. It is rather a selection of typical specimens of the styles of different periods and schools, including heads of statues as well as busts and fragments. All the plates are "half-tone" reproductions of drawings, the latter carefully executed by Paul Weber from photographs. In his preface M. Reinach explains why he has adopted this method of illustration rather than mechanical reproductions made directly from the photographs themselves; and while we appreciate his reasons, we cannot help wishing that the latter method had been practicable, as the drawings, excellent though they are, necessarily omit many details which would have been of value to the student, and would have insured an accuracy of which one cannot always feel certain in the most painstaking free-hand work or tracing. However, as it stands, the book will be, like all M. Reinach's compilations, an important addition to the library of the student of Greek art, and its value is enhanced by the full notes which accompany the plates.

ROGER BACON'S GREEK GRAMMAR.

The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon, and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar. Edited from the MSS., with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. Edmond Nolan, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, and S. A. Hirsch, Ph.D., Theological Tutor at the Jews' College, London. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1902. Pp. lxxxv., 212.

A Greek Grammar from the thirteenth century is a voice from the past to which all scholars turn with curiosity and respect. Especially we all want to know what Roger Bacon, Doctor Mirabilis, a prodigy of learning in himself, and one of the first to welcome the new light which was dawning in the East, had to tell us of the best way to learn Greek, of which he was one of the very few masters whom England could then boast. Born about 1214, ten years before Thomas Aquinas, he studied at Oxford in his youth; but when he was hardly twenty he went to Paris, then the centre of European learning. He was a student there

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during the eventful period when the Church was stirred to its foundations by its delightful controversy about Aristotle, who was first accepted as a fountain of wisdom, then anathematized as a heretic, and finally exalted as a supreme authority in theology. Bacon was more amused than seriously affected by the vacillations of the Church, which he rightly ascribed to their true cause, ignorance of Greek. This experience did much to induce him to write his Greek Grammar. Before the twelfth century, Aristotle was known to western Europe only through Latin translations of a few of his logical works. But a sudden excitement was raised in that century by the appearance in Spain and France of Arabic versions of the Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics, and 'De Anima,' with elaborate commentaries by learned Arab scholars, among whom Averroes was the most famous. These were known in Europe at first chiefly through Hebrew versions from the Arabic, and the Arabic translations had been made from the Syriac by Arabs who knew little or no Greek. The Church at once became eagerly excited by vague accounts of the great religious truths which were said to be found in Aristotle. By command of the Archbishop of Toledo, these new works were translated into Latin, and then were eagerly studied by the clergy. This has been well termed "the rich but dangerous present of the Mussulman to the Christian." Scholars who know the doctrines of Aristotle on the soul as they are given in his 'De Anima' can appreciate the humor of this cordial adoption of the Stagirite by the mediæval Church. A wolf had been let into the sheepfold; but he was at first quite an innocent interloper, well covered by a sheepskin. The Latin versions of Averroes, as G. H. Lewes describes them, were really "Latin translations from a Hebrew version of an Arabic commentary on an Arabic translation of a Syriac version of a Greek text." What Roger Bacon thought of these treasures of learning can be seen in his 'Compendium Studii Philosophiæ' (viii., pp. 468, 469), where he speaks of the "perversity of translation seen in the works of Aristotle, which are the foundations of the whole study of wisdom." "In uno passu unus dicit hoc, et alius contrarium, et tertius contradictorium, et quartus diversum, et alii quotlibet iuxta sensum suum."

"I am sure," he proceeds, "that it would have been better if the wisdom of Aristotle had not been translated. All who know anything neglect the perverse translations. If I had the power, I would have all the books of Aristotle [*i. e.*, the translations] burnt, for it is only a waste of time, a cause of error, a multiplication of ignorance, to study them. Whoever will glory in Aristotle's wisdom must learn it in its own native tongue."

This last sentence is still as true as ever.

While things were in this state, copies of the genuine philosophical works of Aristotle were brought from Constantinople to the West, and there were scholars early in the thirteenth century able to read and expound them. Now, "on a sudden" (as Milman describes it), "there is a cry of horror in the Church." The "rich but dangerous gift of the Mussulman" was beginning to be understood. In 1215 the University of Paris and the Papal Legate solemnly forbade the reading of Aristotle's Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy. But Thomas Aquinas was not yet born. In 1254, after that great scholar had taught the Church how Aristotle might still reign supreme while the Church could define her own dogmas in her own way, the same University of Paris ordained that both the Physics and the Metaphysics of Aristotle should be read publicly at certain appointed times.

A few years later Bacon returned to Oxford, more than ever convinced that theology without Greek, such as he found in England, was a dangerous thing, especially if Aristotle was to be a saint in the Church. His contempt for most of the theologians of England is deep and freely expressed. There are plenty of "Latini" (he says) who can speak Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew; but there are not four of them who understand Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew grammar. The impossibility of exactness in any linguistic scholarship which is not based on a sound grammatical foundation was never more clearly recognized. Even the native Greek teachers, Bacon says, cannot be trusted here. He is greatly shocked by the Bishops' ignorance of Greek. In consecrating a church the bishop was required to write the Greek alphabet in the sand with his staff; but an English bishop generally wrote also three characters (Digamma, Koppa, and Sampi), which are numerals and do not belong to the alphabet. "Sed hoc non fit sine iniuria sacramenti," adds Bacon.

All this determined him to write a Greek grammar "to help the Latins." He awards the highest of his three grades of scholarship in the learned languages only to those who know Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew as they know their mother tongue *(ut nos loquimur Anglicum, Gallicum, et Latinum)*. He absolutely refused this rank to his great friend Robert of Lincoln, whose learning he praises extravagantly in other respects, feeling that there was a want of exactness even in his brilliant scholarship which made him an unsafe guide in difficult questions of interpretation. On the other hand, he thinks that a clever pupil (who is supposed to read and speak Latin like his mother tongue), with a good teacher and a good manual, ought to learn enough Greek in three days (?) to understand whatever relates to theology, philosophy, or the Latin language. This three-day scholarship has never been explained. Bacon surely could not mean that any one could read Aristotle after three days' study. Is it possible that he means only that he could learn enough *grammar* in three days to enable him to go on?

This interesting work is now first published from a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The reasons for assigning it to Roger Bacon, as stated in the introduction by Dr. Hirsch, seem perfectly conclusive, although Bacon's name appears only in a late note. What first strikes a modern scholar on looking into the book is the absence of most of the elementary principles of the language which are now an important part of every grammar, and diffuse discussions of what now seem unimportant questions (at least to a beginner) about the alphabet, pronunciation, prosody, etc. We shall give reasons below for thinking that Part II., containing about two-thirds of the whole work, was not originally a part of the Oxford Grammar, which was professedly an elementary treatise. The total absence of Syntax may be due to the imperfect state of the manuscript; but it is very doubtful whether such a work as this would include Syntax. This subject was very briefly dealt with in the elementary grammars used in England and this country even seventy years ago. The famous Port Royal Greek Grammar, a volume of 476 pages, a great authority in our colleges a century ago and later, thus disposes of the whole subject of the moods: "Now though the moods are not to be rejected (?) intirely, yet their signification is sometimes so very arbitrary that they are frequently put for one another through all tenses." Then follow excellent examples of regular Attic usage to illustrate this!

Bacon's Grammar contains 180 pages. It ends with the paradigm of τύπτω, and there must have been at least one of contract verbs in ῶ and one of verbs in μι. There is much careless copying in the manuscript, as *e* for *ae*, *c* for *t* before *i*, etc., which is kept in the printed work. The iota subscript is omitted in most places in the manuscript; but Bacon recognizes it in I. 1, 2 (under diphthongs), and also by the more correct addition of this iota in the line. There are three parts. Part I. has one division (9 pp.) on the Alphabet, in which the letters, diphthongs, accents, and abbreviations are discussed briefly and intelligibly. A second division follows: *De compendiosa instruccione legendi et construendi grecum*. Here we have the Greek letters in various forms, with their names in Greek and Latin letters above them, followed by the names of the accents in both Greek and Latin. Then comes the declension of the article and the relative ὅς, with a transliteration in Latin letters, thus:

ho	*tu*	*to*	*ton*
ὁ	τοῦ	τῷ	τὸν
hos	*hu*	*ho*	*hon*
ὃς	ὅὗ	ᾧ	ὃν

This is supposed to prepare the pupil to read the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Magnificat, the Song of Simeon, and the Song of Zachariah, which are all given at length in three parallel lines, the Greek at the bottom, with each word spelled in Latin letters above it, and above this a Latin translation of each word, with the cases often wonderfully perverted to correspond to the case of the Greek below where the Latin would use another case, some Latin words being omitted which would not correspond to anything in the Greek. Of course the pronunciation of Greek is always the native Greek, no other being then in use. We give a few specimens of these remarkable documents:

Pater	nostrum		in		celis
Pater	imon	o	en	tis	uranis
πατηρ	ἡμῶν	ὁ	ἐν	τοῖς	οὐρανοῖς

et non (*vel* ne) inducas nos in temptacionem

ke	mi	iseuegkis	imas	is	pirasmon
καὶ	μὴ	εἰσενεγκῃς	ἡμᾶς	εἰς	πειρασμόν

It is worth noticing that our Franciscan friar gives the orthodox Greek form of the famous passage of the Creed, making the Holy Ghost proceed from the Father alone:

	ex	patris	procedentem	
to	ek	tu patros	ekporeuomenon	
τὸ	ἐκ	τοῦ πατρος	εκπορευόμενον	

(Here *ex patris* copies the Greek construction, avoiding the Latin ablative.)

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Then follows a table of numerals α, β, γ, etc., with their Greek names *ena*, *dio*, *tria*, *tessera*, etc., written below them in Latin letters.

Next we have Part II. of 118 pages, containing long and abstruse discussions of the same subjects (orthography, etc.) which were explained in the first division of Part I. This seems entirely out of place in an elementary book, and one who studied this would not need the briefer statement in Part I. The first sentence in the first chapter explains the difficulty: "Terminata parte illa in qua proposui ea que pertinent ad lenem et introductoriam instruccionem legendi grecum et scribendi et construendi, nunc tempus est ut *maiora copiosius indicantur*." This whole discussion, then, belongs to the larger treatise of which he often speaks as a part of his plan, and is no part of the elementary grammar in which it is found. If we leave this out of the account, we have the simple introduction of twenty-three pages, already described, followed by Part III. on Inflection. This contains thirty-eight pages, in our edition; but much has been lost at the beginning, and the inflection of the verb is incomplete at the end. We have had nothing on inflection before this, except the declension of the article and ὅς in Part I. Part III. begins in the manuscript with Division III. Ch. 5, where we find the declension of nouns in ξ and ψ, followed by a chapter on contract nouns and nouns in εως of our second declension. Then comes a short chapter, *De figura ac specie;* next the inflection of pronouns, and finally the conjugation of the verb. Here we find the Byzantine paradigm of τύπτω, which held its place in our grammars until near the middle of the last century. Those of us who were driven to learn all the traditional forms of this verb, with every tense of every mood formed by inexorable rules, often producing words which no classic Greek could have understood and which often violated the very rules they were invented to illustrate, were astounded and secretly delighted to learn at last that τύπτω is really a very defective and rather irregular verb, and that of the twenty-five tenses (with about 100 modal forms) given in the Byzantine paradigm, only two occur in Attic Greek and only six at all, while all the second futures active and middle were never formed and never could be formed from verbs like τύπτω.

It has been thought that the use of τύπτω to illustrate all possible forms of the so-called barytone verb shows that Bacon followed the first grammarian, Dionysius Thrax, who wrote about 100 B. C. But though Dionysius refers to τύπτω, he refers also to κόπτω; and the full paradigm of τύπτω was certainly added to his text many centuries after his time. We may safely accept Bacon's own statement of the authors on whom he depended, feeling sure that he would have included the first of Greek grammarians if he could have done so. This list is: Bede, Priscian, Donatus, Servius, Lucan, Juvenal, Statius, Horace, Persius, Juvencus, Arator, Prudens, Paulinus, Prosper, Sedulius, Isidorus, Pliny (p. 37).

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN AMERICA.

Religious Life in America. A Record of Personal Observation. By Ernest Hamlin Abbott. New York: The Outlook Company. 1902.

La Religion dans la Société aux États-Unis. Par Henry Bargy. Paris: Armand Colin.

We have here two books which criticise and complement each other in an interesting manner. With a subject in which inhered the possibility of the dullest of dull books, Mr. Abbott has written one of such attractiveness that its fine externals do not belie its spiritual contents. His method is not statistical, but personal and impressionist. He has great skill in seizing on the vital elements of a scene, a situation, or a character, and he translates his observations into an expression that is extremely vivid, striking, picturesque. Had he called his book, 'Religion of America,' the title would have been a misnomer, his examples are so isolated and sporadic and are drawn from such a limited area. There is nothing here about New England except in the way of casual reference and a brief *amende* in the concluding chapter, which is given up to generalization with much loss of interest. There is nothing here about the great States of New York, Pennsylvania (Bethlehem excepted), and Ohio, where certainly the religious phenomenon is not less important than in the States farther south or west. There is nothing here of the Pacific slope. Mr. Abbott's observations have been made, with the exception of Maryland, exclusively in the Southern and Middle Western States; and while within these by no means contracted limits the immediate examples fill the eye and constitute the principal attraction, a few inferences are drawn with so much care that they deserve a proportionate consideration.

Mr. Abbott began his round in Baltimore, and his two chapters on that city are devoted to the relations of the workingman and particularly of organized labor with the churches. His conversations with both clergymen and workingmen are rendered in a convincing manner. He did not find the workingman's indifference to the churches significant of an equal indifference to religion. But, while the well-to-do dislike "live issues" in the pulpit, the workingman cares for no others. He would have the preachers come to the union meetings, and "preach about anything—only not about heaven." Some of the preachers were as stern as the workingman in their construction of the average clerical character. One of them declared that the social environment had so deadened the spirit of self-sacrifice among ministers that they hardly knew what it meant. But the church suffers as much from the prominence of well-fed, self-satisfied laymen as do the unions from their noisier and more irresponsible agitators.

The encouragement of Mr. Abbott's book is in its discovery of such individuals as his Virginia country rector. Though he seems to have a touchstone for selecting them, we are obliged to think that where he finds so many there must be many more. Certainly the portrait of the Virginian is a most engaging one. He is a Jack-at-all trades and poor at none, be it that of preacher or man midwife. A chapter on the religious tendencies of the negro is peculiarly interesting at the present time. Giving a lively picture of the emotional negro preacher, Mr. Abbott concludes that he is going to the wall. One preacher regrets that the distrust of emotionalism, responding to white criticism, was reducing the emotional tide so low that the ecclesiastical machinery could not be kept running. Next we have "New Tendencies in the Old South." The general religious life is immensely traditional and conventional, with here and there a sign of better things. A sexton of fifty years' service and a bell-ringer boasting sixty-one were samples of the average immobility. A "cake of custom" formed so hard will not be broken without some violent, though perhaps superficial, irruption of hot infidelity.

Nowhere was Mr. Abbott more disabused of the impressions that he took along than in New Orleans. The Creole domination was by no means what he expected. Coming to "The Edge of the Southwest," we travel with a lot of drummers, one of them, who passes round the whiskey as he recommends his Bible-chart, a man "to shake the midriff of despair with laughter." At one point Mr. Abbott's known connection with the *Outlook*, for which he was preparing these chapters, chilled the reception accorded him in the office of a Baptist weekly paper. Finally there was frank confession: "We used to read the *Outlook* with great pleasure, when it was liberal; but now it has flopped on public questions." Even in Arkansas there were at least individual signs of growth in the direction of a more human presentation of religion, the goal towards which Mr. Abbott's longing tends throughout his book. Kansas, the eastern West, Iowa, and Colorado have each an interesting chapter, that on Iowa the least clear in finding there conventionalism in unexampled force, while still there is so much that comes under a different kind. In "The Leaven and the Lump" we have a good account of the interactions of the Western country and its immigrant population in "New Sects and Old," some varieties of religious experience which escaped Professor James's scrutiny; Dowie's Christian Catholic Church in Zion and Chicago overtopping every other in its unblushing impudence and unspeakable vulgarity. In the same chapter we have the Pennsylvania Moravians depicted with such exquisite sympathy that we think we will go to Bethlehem and find rest for our souls.

The method of M. Bargy's book is entirely different from that of Mr. Abbott's. He is idealistic, optimistic, abounding in confident generalizations, basing these entirely upon written matter. What is nothing in Mr. Abbott's presentation is almost everything here—the New England liberalism of Channing and Emerson. At the same time the agreement is considerable between our two writers in the general conclusions at which they arrive. Mr. Abbott's is that "religion in America is characterized not so much by devoutness as by righteousness, less by the look-upward than by the look-outward." M. Bargy's is much the same: that our religion is social, positive, more attentive to the human than to the supernatural, to society than to the individual. These traits are found inhering in the Puritan theocracy to a degree that will astonish many readers who imagine the dogmatic preoccupation of the Puritan to have been immense. But M. Bargy is speaking relatively, and it may be that his disengagement from the phenomena which he describes enables him to judge of them

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more justly than if he were traditionally entangled in them. Another interesting aspect of his book is its idea that all the churches of the United States, Protestant and Catholic, are more neighborly and friendly among themselves than they are with their mother churches in Europe, and more neighborly and friendly than the European churches are among themselves. The severest strain upon this idea is afforded by the chapters on Catholicism, which, we are assured, is more American and Anglo-Saxon than it is Roman, and more positive and social than formalistic and dogmatic. Here and elsewhere some individual like Father Hecker is made to carry more than he can bear. There is similar exaggeration when we come to Channing and Emerson and Dr. Adler and the ethical societies. Similarly, "le christianisme des Juifs" is overdone, and "la tolérance dans l'interprétation biblique."

Following an introduction that describes Christian positivism—a term which in its turn is supposed to describe American religion fairly well—we have a series of seven books. The first of these deals with the social instinct in colonial Christianity; the second with the positive instinct under the same conditions; the third with the positive spirit in the philosophy of New England Christianity. "American religion, for a long time unconscious of itself, came to consciousness in the nineteenth century; it inspired a philosophy and a great body of literature; Channing and Emerson made it known to strangers; after having been only an element of local history, it entered into the current of universal ideas; the social instinct became the social spirit; the positive instinct became the positive spirit." The first chapter in the fourth book, "L'Esprit Social dans les Philosophies Chrétiennes," is devoted to the individualistic socialism of Channing. Here and there a fact or inference suffers that sea change which is so commonly effected by the Atlantic's width between subject and object, but in general the simplicity of Channing's life and thought stands M. Bargy in good stead. It was, however, certainly not from 1820 to 1830, but from 1830 to 1840, that Channing put forth preëminently his social strength, seeking to become, as he said, "less ministerial and more manly." An equally good chapter deals with the Transcendentalists, Brook Farm, and related matters. The two following books treat of the positive and social spirit in contemporary American religion, and a last one of religious peace through Christian positivism. These chapters breathe an amiable spirit, liberal and humane, but they would, perhaps, have been less up in the air if M. Bargy before writing his book had met Mr. Abbott's, and read it carefully.

The Aaron Burr Conspiracy: A History Largely from Original and Hitherto Unused Sources. By Walter Flavius McCaleb. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1903. Pp. xviii., 377.

Many students, some very capable ones among them, have occupied themselves with the Aaron Burr conspiracy. Though the subject is full of difficulties, the verdict commonly reached is that the schemes of Burr were both treasonable and filibustering. The best statement of this view—the one which has come to be regarded almost in the light of a classic—is unquestionably that of Henry Adams. Mr. McCaleb has gone over the whole field once more, with a carefulness unsurpassed, and with an attention to sources unequalled, by any of his predecessors, and the conclusion which he reaches is quite different from that of Mr. Adams. Briefly stated, Mr. McCaleb's finding is that the schemes of Burr were filibustering only—that they in no sense involved the separation of the Southwest from the Union.

This conclusion is based partly on the examination of hitherto unused sources. Unfortunately, we think, Mr. McCaleb has not prepared a formal bibliography, but in the preface the main sources have been indicated. The archives of Texas, the archives of Mexico, the newspapers of the Southwest, the Andrew Jackson MSS., the Clay MSS., and the Jefferson MSS. have been examined. More particularly, the author has used to advantage a volume of MSS. in the Department of State at Washington, entitled 'Letters in Relation to Burr's Conspiracy.' Finally, three maps, prepared by Burr, now possessed by Mrs. T. C. Wordin, have been examined. Together they represent the lower Mississippi, the Gulf Coast, and the section of Mexico between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico. While the author asserts the great importance of these maps, he does not in reality make much use of them, or show very clearly how they invalidate the theory that the conspiracy involved treasonable purposes. On the whole, it appears that the new material examined has been of service to the author, not so much in clearing Burr of treason as in throwing considerable light on the shady and tortuous path followed by James Wilkinson.

Light upon Wilkinson may very well be light upon Burr; but the central position of Mr. McCaleb—that Burr's schemes were not treasonable—rests for support principally upon new interpretation of old material. Of fundamental importance is his treatment of Burr's intrigues with Merry and Yrujo, the English and Spanish Ministers. That Burr made treasonable proposals to these two men is unquestioned. It has hitherto been considered that these proposals reveal Burr's real purpose with reference to the Southwest. Mr. McCaleb maintains, however, that they were made merely as a blind, in order to secure money from the English and Spanish Governments for the purpose of executing his real design, the expedition against Mexico. Mr. McCaleb's position centres in this interpretation of the Merry and Yrujo intrigue, and the careful narration is made to enforce three classes of facts which tend to support this interpretation. First, the conduct of Burr, both in speech and in action, aside from his dealing with Merry and Yrujo, reveals no treasonable purpose, while his "revelations to Blennerhassett left no doubt as to the object in view" (p. 49). Second, that no sane man who understood the situation of affairs would make such proposals as Burr made to Merry and Yrujo, since there was nowhere in the Southwest, even in New Orleans itself, any sentiment in favor of revolution, or any action taken in the interest of revolution. Third, the stories of treason which filled the newspapers and created such excitement in the Southwest, and the connection of these stories with Burr and his expedition, were largely the work of James Wilkinson.

The first point is one which involves an explanation of Burr's conversation at Cannonsburg, the "Querist" articles in the *Ohio Gazette*, and the revelations to William Eaton. The author's explanation of these matters, though not wholly convincing, may pass. It is nevertheless obvious that, assuming Burr to have had treasonable designs, the English and Spanish Ministers were almost the only persons to whom it was safe for him to reveal such designs frankly. If there were others, certainly Wilkinson was not one. The author, indeed, makes much of the fact that the famous letter of Burr to Wilkinson, of July 29, contains no hint of treasonable designs, and charges his predecessors with having grossly misinterpreted it (p. 75). The point of Henry Adams, however, is precisely that this letter was a tissue of falsehoods. Finally, this argument of the author is weakened by the fact that it is wholly due to the official position of Merry and Yrujo that we know more of Burr's intrigues with them than we do of his intrigues with others. To base a positive assertion on mere lack of evidence is always dangerous, and in the present case the danger has not been altogether avoided.

The second point in a sense constitutes the strength of the book. While it is of course poor logic to say (putting it baldly) that Burr could not have seriously meditated certain wild, treasonable schemes because they were too wild and impracticable for Burr seriously to meditate, it is yet difficult to exaggerate the strength of the impression one gets from a careful reading of the book, that Burr's conduct as a whole is scarcely intelligible if one assumes that his designs were treasonable, while it is easily intelligible if one assumes that his designs were filibustering only. Mr. McCaleb has, in fact, achieved a remarkable, almost an artistic, unity in subordinating his material throughout to the production of this effect.

In dealing with Wilkinson, to take up the third point, Mr. McCaleb has made good use of the "Letters in Relation" and the Mexican Archives. His thesis is that Wilkinson worked in harmony with Burr so long as war with Spain seemed a possibility. The occupation of territory east of the Sabine by Herrera seemed to make war inevitable; his sudden and unexpected withdrawal made it impossible. From this moment, not from the receipt of Burr's letter of July 29, Wilkinson resolved to desert Burr, spread the false report of treason, and himself pose as the savior of his country. His subsequent conduct in New Orleans, his intrigues with the Spanish authorities, his correspondence with Jefferson, are carefully analyzed, and the conclusion is all but irresistible that Wilkinson was making an elaborate show of heroically resisting dangers that never really existed.

On the whole, while we do not believe it is possible to *prove* that Burr did not have treasonable designs, Mr. McCaleb's substantial service has been in making it clear that such designs, by whomsoever entertained, were, under the circumstances, wholly impracticable: that Burr must have very early given over the serious consideration of such designs if he ever enter-

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tained them; and that the interested action of James Wilkinson is responsible for the importance with which the treasonable side of Burr's schemes has been invested.

John Lackland. By Kate Norgate. The Macmillan Co. 1902.

In prosecuting their study of the Middle Ages, the French produce a kind of monograph for which, unfortunately, there is no exact equivalent in the historical literature of England. We refer to the learned and exhaustive survey of a given reign. Not only are the great sovereigns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries thus dealt with in detail, but the early Capetians and even their Carolingian predecessors receive the honor of a most careful biographical notice. Any one who has received a catalogue of theses from Picard or Welter will know what is meant, and works of a similar order appear in the 'Bibliothèque des Hautes-Études.' As particular examples may be named M. Pfister's 'Robert le Pieux,' M. Funck-Brentano's 'Philippe le Bel,' and M. Lauer's 'Louis d'Outremer,' but these are only a few striking examples which may be selected from the large number of such biographies. In English, though lives of the kings abound, they do not often conform to this type. They are less minute, and as a rule less erudite. They may have their individual merits, but they are of another spirit. We make the foregoing distinction neither to praise nor to condemn. We would simply say that, since rules have their exceptions, Miss Norgate's 'John Lackland' is comparable with such studies as those of Pfister, Funck-Brentano and Lauer.

Miss Norgate's knowledge of the Angevin period is already well recognized, and anything that she may commit to print regarding Henry II. or his sons is sure to be received with attention. Were we tracing her antecedents as an historical writer, we should associate her with Freeman, whose reputation she defended with spirit against Mr. Round, and with Green, whose claim upon her allegiance is also strong. It may be said that the present volume is in some respects an expansion of Green's judgment against John. Miss Norgate's learning, of course, is all her own, but her text is the passage from Green that stands as a motto in front of her first chapter: "The closer study of John's history clears away the charges of sloth and incapacity with which men tried to explain the greatness of his fall. The awful lesson of his life rests on the fact that the king who lost Normandy, became the vassal of the Pope, and perished in a struggle of despair against English freedom, was no weak and indolent voluptuary, but the ablest and most ruthless of the Angevins."

The constitutional bearing of John's misdeeds and punishment is bound to be the chief topic in any account of his reign. While this is true, it should be stated that Miss Norgate does not depart so far from the canons of good narrative as to sacrifice everything else on the altar of Magna Charta. She takes John from the moment of his birth at Oxford to the hour when his soul departed amid the raging hurricane at Newark. Step by step she traces the development of his character and the course of his inhuman policy, until she has explained beyond a chance of reasonable doubt why the realm stood arrayed against him in the year of his death. If policy and politics bulk larger than personality in the pages of this sketch, we may justify Miss Norgate on the ground that she has emphasized the subject which is least unpleasant and most important. When John commits Maud de Braose and her son to the dungeon of Windsor, and there starves them to death, it is well that his barbarity should be described in the text; but it is also well that the domestic infelicities of Eustace de Vesci and Robert Fitzwalter should be consigned to the appendix.

Of Miss Norgate's seven chapters, two are occupied with an account of John's youth, and the other five describe the period of his reign. Following another analysis there are, besides the tale of the King's own delinquencies, three main subjects—the loss of Normandy, the struggle against Innocent III., and the strife with the barons. Limiting our notice to one of these, we shall select the last and consider how Miss Norgate depicts the antecedents of Runnymead.

Any one who has paid the least attention to the reigns of Henry II. and Richard knows that even then there was strife enough between king and barons regarding military service on the island and abroad, the frequency and amount of scutage, and the right of the crown to exercise control over the castles. But it was not merely the friction arising from inveterate clash of interests which led to the Great Charter, nor was the uprising of the barons chiefly due to discontent at the loss of Normandy. "The bitterness of such dispute," says Miss Norgate, "was intensified by John's personal dealings with his barons, his subtle contrivances for stealing from them their rights over their own tenants and their own land, his interference with their domestic life by his continual demands for hostages, and, above all, in many cases by a desecration of their homes which blood alone could expiate."

In this era of misrule one of the King's most hateful and iniquitous devices was his compact with the sheriffs to increase the ferm of the shire, on an understanding that the profits should be shared by sovereign and agent. As the sheriffs had always been distinguished by the grasping spirit of the publican, it was the duty of the Government to stand between them and the people, as Henry II. and Richard had done from time to time. John, with his positive genius for injustice, made the sheriff his minion in a new and oppressive sense. Among the engines of this new tyranny, perhaps the most glaring was the revival of ordeal, although Henry II. had limited this barbarous and obsolete mode of trial to cases in which the charge was made on the presentment of a sworn jury. At the same time the administration of justice was so corrupt that no lover of peace and order could hope to obtain redress from the courts.

The barons had public wrongs in abundance besides their grounds of private resentment, but they needed a leader of greater astuteness, mental breadth, and moral fervor than could be found among their own ranks. Here Miss Norgate joins with her chief predecessors in glorifying the name and deeds of Stephen Langton. She goes so far as to accept, in substance, the story which Wendover introduces with an *on dit* ("ut fama refert"), to the effect that the Archbishop discovered the Charter of Liberties, brought it to a meeting of mutinous barons, and made it the basis of constitutional demand. "This story is given by Roger of Wendover only as a rumor; but, whether the rumor were literally true or not, it was at any rate founded upon a fact—the fact that the movement which was to result in the Great Charter owed its true impulse to the statesmanship, not of any of the barons, but of Stephen Langton." Anselm and Becket had proved that the Archbishop of Canterbury was more than the first subject of the realm when an issue relating to religion arose. Langton went a long step further, and won a more unusual victory for his see, when he converted the rage of injured barons into a demand for political justice.

This book must be held to rank among the best studies of English mediæval history which we possess.

A History of Ottoman Poetry. By the late E. J. W. Gibb. Volume II. Edited by Edward G. Browne, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. London: Luzac & Co. Pp. xl., 406.

The publication of the present volume of this great work is marked with a sad interest. In our review of the first, Mr. Gibb's unique position as a Turkish scholar, easily alone in England and without a superior in Europe, was pointed out. Some account was given also of his previous work and publications. Now that record must be drawn to a hasty close. In December, 1901, Mr. Gibb died at the early age of forty-four, and the world was robbed of a great scholar, and an almost unique interpreter of the East to the West. For in him we have lost not simply a man of books and their learning. He was one of those strange appearances which from time to time confound our particularity and show that the whole race of mankind is truly of one blood. Born under the gray skies of Scotland and in the smoke of Glasgow, his mind and sympathies were of the South and East; when he turned once for a brief space from Constantinople and Asia it was to mediæval France and the sun-lit forest and shore of 'Aucassin et Nicolette.' And so, being himself truly of such climes, he understood them and their peoples and could render and explain their emotions and conceptions—that whole seemingly inexplicable content of alien minds—to us whose lives and thoughts are cast so far away. His, then, was that rare gift of sympathy and interpretation—so much rarer than any scholarship, however refined; and his life has gone out precisely when the East is opening again to the West and the need is greatest for such mutual understanding. At such times these few men of universal race avail more than diplomats, schools or missionaries.

But this book of his, at least, is not to become, like Lane's unfortunate lexicon, one of the too many torsos of Oriental learning. The MS. of it lies nearly perfect, and, by the care of his parents and widow, is to be completed and published. This task has been assumed by Prof. E. G. Browne, an intimate friend of Mr. Gibb, himself a Turkish scholar, though doing all his work in the field of Persian. Of his entire capacity to bear the responsibil-

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ity of editing so monumental a work there can be no doubt. The only possible difficulty will be in an essential difference of temperament between himself and Mr. Gibb. In Mr. Gibb there was a singular personal repression; assertion of himself it will be vain to seek on his own pages. His editor's personality is exuberant; most entertaining and often instructive, it is true, but liable to come between the reader and the subject. Thus, in his preface there is almost as much about himself as about Mr. Gibb. The same difference of temperament has led him to add a number of notes, only a few of which, it is safe to say, were really necessary. But apart from this difference in personal equation, for which allowance can easily be made, there can be no question that he will carry out his long task ably and loyally.

The present volume stretches from 1450 to 1520. It enters and forms the first part of the Classical Period of Ottoman Poetry, the real beginning of that poetry. For it the times were ripe. Constantinople fell in 1453, and the Ottoman Empire was consolidated and ready for its long career of conquest. The Ottoman Turks were no longer one dominant tribe among many; all Turks now passed over among them and wrote from this time on in the Ottoman dialect of Turkish. East and West, too, were separating. The Renaissance in Europe led our civilization away on a new path in which the East did not follow. So, while the civilization of the mediæval world from central Asia to the Atlantic was fairly one in its ideas and aspirations, the rent now entered which only in our days is being slowly bridged. There came also a new literary influence from the remoter East. The classical period of Persian literature culminated at the court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara at Herat. There Jami, the last great Persian, and Newa'i, the first great Turkish poet, wrote. That the latter wrote in Eastern (Jaghatay) Turkish mattered little. He gave the suggestion and impulse to Ahmed Pasha, the founder of the Ottoman school, and in his path the Ottoman Turkish poets went until Baqi, who died in 1600. The tone and meaning of this departure and the spirit of the poetry which came from it were well put by Mr. Gibb as follows:

"But it is not only in matters political and dialectic that there has been a change; a seeming transformation has occurred in the realms of poetry. When we reach the Second Period we enter into an ideal world. The voices of theologian and schoolman are silent, and in their stead we hear the lover's sigh and the nightingale's lament. The poets seem to move in an enchanted land full of blooming roses and singing birds and beauties fair beyond all telling. And we, too, when we enter this fairyland, seem to pass beneath the influence of some magic spell. We wander on as in a dream, knowing not whether the lovely forms that arise on every hand are realities or shadows. A radiant iridescent haze envelops all things, rendering them vague and uncertain, while it transfigures them. For we are in the realm between heaven and earth, where the Mystic Love has met the Human and joined hands, and the two have become one. And so it were vain to ask whether what we see is the sweet face of some mortal fair one or a flash from the Eternal Beauty, a glimpse of God's own Self."

To this, little need be added. A list of the names dealt with here would mean nothing. Three points alone are worth making. First, a well-taken protest by Mr. Gibb against calling Turkish poetry an "imitation" of Persian, and therefore to be disparaged. Rather, both are expressions of one civilization and one literature, written partly in Persian and partly in Turkish. The situation is very closely analogous to the relation of French and English literature in the time of Chaucer. Was Chaucer an imitator in any sense open to disparagement? The literature in either language was one; the parting of the ways had not yet appeared, and Gower wrote both in French and in English, as some Turks did in Persian and in Turkish. Second, Mr. Gibb's translations, fantastic, strained, and "precious" as they often seem, represent exactly their originals. "Had all our poets from the days of Spenser persisted in writing in the artificial idiom of the 'Faerie Queen,'" we should have had an exact parallel to the language of Turkish poetry. This holds generally, but not always, it must lastly be added. For even in this first part of the classical period we have such a poet as Mesihi, who throws aside his Persian books, and, without metaphysics or allegory, writes with objective humor of the things he himself has seen. So, too, the human breadth of Chaucer broke through his French training.

One single slip may be noticed, and it is not in Turkish literature. The book by al-Ghazzali mentioned on p. 102 is not an abridgment of his 'Ihya,' but an independent work.

The Making of Citizens: A Study in Comparative Education. By R. E. Hughes. London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 405.

The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland. By Graham Balfour, M.A. Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1903. Pp. 307.

A mass of valuable information resides in Mr. Hughes's book. Detailed but concise descriptions of the primary and secondary school systems of England, France, Germany, and America, statistics in regard to number of schools, teachers, salaries, attendance, occupations of children, etc., the essential features of the different kinds of schools and the different plans of organization and administration, are all included, and an attempt is made at a comparative evaluation of the merits of the different systems. Nowhere else in a single volume can any such compilation of facts in regard to present school organization be found. Nor is the mere presentation of facts all. The purpose of the author, as indicated in the preface, "has been rather to utilize statistics as a means to an end—and that end is the presentation of a reasonably clear and well-defined set of pictures illustrating the systems of education at work in these countries. Statistics are used as guides, not gauges." It is refreshing to find an author who sees the wider social aspects of the school, and of educational movements, as a few pregnant passages will illustrate. Systems of education naturally group themselves into two classes, individualist and socialist. France and Germany form striking examples of the latter, England and America of the former. Those of France and Germany are strongly bureaucratic. They are State, not local, institutions. The American system is controlled by the people, and there is a large measure of local autonomy. The English system is "a compromise between the bureaucracy of Europe and the licensed liberty of America." As regards the teachers, who, in the last resort, always determine the character of the school, the English primary teacher usually has some professional training, and is efficient. The French teacher has professional training; promotion is entirely by merit, and he possesses "absolute security of tenure"; he ranks high socially, has no compulsory extraneous duties, and is supposed by the State to be a scholastic priest "and to keep aloof from worldly matters." The German primary teacher also has professional training and secure tenure of office, takes up the task as a life work, and looks forward to a pension upon retirement. Of the great army of American primary teachers, 400,000 strong, "it is impossible to make any general statement except that in variety it is unexcelled." Professional training is required of the secondary teacher also in France and Germany, especially in the latter country; but "there are practically no professionally trained teachers in the English secondary school," and in America training is by no means indispensable. Again the wider social function of the teacher is not overlooked. Not only in France, but "it is said that the primary teacher in all lands is preëminently *the* political agitator. One might imagine that the school was the storm centre and the teacher the petrel of politics. . . . The teacher leads the vanguard of civilization."

The conclusions of the whole investigation, though briefly stated, are important. First of all the author finds that his study emphasizes a very important old truth:

"Each system of education can only be understood when seen in its own setting. Each is an expression of its nation's genius; it is characteristic of its people. In so far as it is thriving it is truly popular, and only so far as it is popular and peculiar is it national. The habitat of each system is fixed, it is an indigenous product; consequently, it is not only unscientific, but it is impossible, to measure comprehensively any system of national education in terms of another. These systems cannot be arranged in order of merit. The finer elements, the more ethical and spiritual factors in national culture, defy the balance of the analyst and the scalpel of the anatomist; they are susceptible to no quantitative tests. Thus the whole drift of our investigations points to this one main conclusion: every country has, in the main, that system of training best adapted to its present needs, and most capable of developing in such a way as to meet future national needs."

Each system reveals certain general tendencies showing the growth of world citizenship. Similar movements are agitating the mass, whether in Europe or America. Certain aspects of national education are becoming more prominent; and the most striking movement is that towards true social equality, especially in recognition of the equality of the sexes, or the growth of the democratic ideal. The lengthening of the school life is an international movement. The work of education in the more democratic states is being given over to women—in the author's opinion a dangerous experiment. While some of the most essential attributes of the teacher are characteristic of women, nevertheless the de-

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velopment of "adaptability at the expense of reverence is the price exacted of a people placing training entirely in the hands of women."

It is hardly to cast blame upon the author to say that the sociological study suggested by the title is inadequately done. To make any such investigation and to determine the influence of the school as a factor in the making of citizens is by no means an easy task; but one detects something of the schoolmaster's fallacy that the school is the chief or the only institution engaged in the making of citizens. One need not stray far, however, from the statistics presented by Mr. Hughes himself to see how erroneous any such view is. As workingmen go, the English artisan and laborer stand high for intelligence and efficiency; and yet until recently, as shown by the official blue books of the British Government, the schools from which these artisans have come have been inadequate and inefficient and the teachers incompetent. This was notoriously true until the formation of the board schools in 1870, and reports within the last ten or fifteen years showed that much of this inefficiency still remained. We have, then, this remarkable paradox: on the one hand, schools inadequate and inefficient; on the other, workingmen, the product of these schools, intelligent and progressive. The explanation is not difficult. The schools were not the only factors in producing the English citizen. He was produced by the English home, the workshop, the playground, and other educational factors, rather than by the school. It is not as easy, perhaps, in other countries that have had better schools to show the influence of extra-scholastic education; but the work of the school can be rightly estimated only by studying it in connection with these other factors which coöperate in the making of the citizen.

Mr. Hughes might wisely have postponed the publication of his book for six months. A revised edition is demanded to give an account of the new programme for the German secondary schools provided by the law of 1902, of the great reform of the same year in secondary education in France, and of the reorganized English system of schools under the Education Act passed last winter by Parliament. The two former are merely referred to in footnotes; and the English law not then passed is merely anticipated in a brief appendix. Hence, readers must remember that this, like nearly all of the current books on school organization in Europe, is largely ancient history.

The second edition of Mr. Graham Balfour's compendious account of the educational systems of Great Britain and Ireland supplements the treatise by Mr. Hughes so far as English education is concerned, and presents with other new material the main provisions of the now famous Education Act of 1902, an act passed, as Mr. Balfour believes, "in response rather to ecclesiastical pressure than to the united enthusiasm of the Cabinet for education." The general character of recent progress is suggested by the author's experience. "It has proved," writes Mr. Balfour, in his preface, "far more difficult than before to treat the subject in three water-tight compartments as elementary, secondary, and higher; the three grades are in fact becoming parts of that organic whole which it is essential for us to form." While an excellent outline is given of the complex educational system of England, in presenting this vast array of facts the author has little time to note the wider relations everywhere suggested. Why should a book, because it is called educational, confine itself to mere statement of dry facts? From the barren account of the Education Act one would hardly suspect the great social, ecclesiastical, and political movements that led up to the new law, and made it so important that it was forced through the House of Commons under the personal management of the Prime Minister, being finally enacted only "after the guillotine application of the closure"; nor that the passage of the law has moved half of England profoundly, and stirred the old spirit of "passive resistance" so that certain nonconformists are letting the sheriff sell their household goods or hale their bodies to prison rather than pay what they deem an unjust tax for the support of denominational schools. We are grateful for concrete facts; but the wider relations are the significant things, and to miss these is to miss everything of vital human interest.

The Woman Who Toils: Being the Experiences of Two Ladies as Factory Girls. By Mrs. John Van Vorst and Marie Van Vorst. Doubleday, Page & Co.

An interleaved note says that since this book was written, the South Carolina Legislature has passed a bill prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age. If there is a connection between the book and the law, the former could have no more worthy comment. After reading the closing chapter on child labor in the Southern cotton mills, the readers returns to this note as to a crumb of comfort, inadequate though its provisions of relief read. It was a bold and brave experiment that the writers made when they put on factory girls' attire, worked beside them in mills, and, what must have been harder, lodged and ate with them. The experiences set down are those met in a Pittsburg pickle factory, in a Chicago clothes' factory, in a New York knitting mill, in a Lynn shoe factory, in South Carolina cotton mills. The authors write in the main judicially; if some purple patches appear in the second half of the volume, they do not, because they cannot, avert sympathy from the whole grievous matter. In some ways the conditions were surprisingly endurable. Very little of Faginism appears. The employers and foremen, with notable exceptions in the Southern mills, were fair. The hands were invariably so. The lodging and boarding house keepers were not of the ilk of Good Mrs. Brown. Persecution of a personal sort rarely appears in these pages. The whole horrid system of hours, the unenlightened modes of living, in many cases the unenlightened motives for working, the drop of the wage level through the lack of differentiation of wage earners from semi-wage earners—all these things make the sadness of the tale, and all these stand forth in a glare the more revealing in that it is the glare of day and not of pyrotechnics.

Mrs. Van Vorst puts her facts so simply that no reader is compelled to agreement against his will. On the contrary, he feels at perfect liberty to differ from her inferences on her own showing. When the tired eyes of a veteran worker seem to say to the novice: "Your youth and vigor are at full tide, but drop by drop they will be sapped from you, to swell the great flood of human effort that supplies the world's material needs"—there rises to the lips the answer, What is all life but the expenditure of youth and vigor? If human needs are insistent, so much the better for the workers. Shall eaters of pickles and wearers of shirts be condemned by philanthropists because the working classes are overworked in the producing? Like other writers these two ladies here and there confound working with overworking. The mill's "jaws" are not necessarily "merciless." They are the gateway to food and raiment. It is the outrageous abuse of human capacity for endurance that makes monsters of the mills. It is not the curtailing of human needs that is wanted. It is a radical readjustment of the conditions of labor that is cried for, and that a book like this must do a tangible something to effect, however it here and there steps off into phrases.

Relief for overtoiling millions of women is, in Mrs. Van Vorst's judgment, to be achieved first of all by separating the breadwinner from the girl who works for luxuries, by attracting the latter into a "field of work which requires instruction and an especial training"—in other words, industrial arts, lace-making, hand-weaving, and the like. To draw such workers away from the factories would be to leave to the breadwinners a fairer chance for the regulation of the wages which to them are a question of life and not of luxury. To pursue the industrial arts is not incompatible with home-making, and the decrease of home-making among women workers is one of the deplorable concomitants of factory life. Classes in these arts already exist; let them be multiplied till they are in Governmental hands, says Mrs. Van Vorst. Valuable hints on rational and adjusted diversion for the factory hands and a momentary fling at organized charity, such as we fancy may at times burst from the weary lips of the most scientific devotee, form other parts of Mrs. Van Vorst's message.

In Miss Van Vorst's story of the Southern mills we hear no more of girls working for luxuries. A hideous picture this of the mountaineers lured down to the mills by the overseers, by their own relatives even, to exchange ignorance and poverty for a scarcely lesser poverty with brutality and degeneration in addition. Where the original traits of this singularly unmixed American stock come out in the kindly boarding-house keepers and in the older generation, there is a fine and a hopeful racial side to be seen. In the rest, nothing of noble survives except sympathy for each other's pains and hurts—a picture of unrelieved misery and degradation, down to the children of whom the mill owners, even women mill owners, are found saying, "They like it!"

Robert Browning. [English Men of Letters.] By G. K. Chesterton. The Macmillan Co. 1903.

With something of deliberate intention, one is inclined to say, Mr. Chesterton has made a name for himself among the younger English critics as a master of epigram-

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matic paradox, and this Life of Robert Browning does not belie his reputation. From the opening statement, that Browning's poetry is easily explained, whereas his life is obscure, to the equally paradoxical sentence which closes the last page, there is kept up an incessant rattling of intellectual surprises which will annoy or stimulate the reader according to his temperament. More than once Mr. Chesterton seems in this way to reach nimbly to the heart of some vexed question, as, for instance, when he maintains that the proper objection to the publication of the Browning Letters "is not the fact that they tell us about the love of the Brownings, but that they do not tell us about it"—which really, if read in connection, is not so paradoxical as it sounds. At other times he falls into mere extravagance or perversity. Who else would dare call 'Sordello' the most glorious compliment ever paid to the average man?

Even when he comes to sum up the value of Browning's work as a whole, Mr. Chesterton still indulges in paradox. 'The Ring and the Book' is "the great epic of the enormous importance of small things"; and in general, Browning's merit lies in "the apotheosis of the insignificant." Nor does Mr. Chesterton flinch the corollary. The exaggeration of the insignificant is properly the field of the grotesque, and with the serious use of the grotesque he finds that Browning's artistic originality chiefly concerned itself. Here, with due commendation, he alludes to Professor Santayana's remarkable essay on Walt Whitman and Browning. He does not intimate, however, that practically his whole thesis—his running comparison of Whitman and Browning, his theory of the grotesque, Browning's insistence upon pure passion and manner of speaking from within the storm centre of emotion rather than from without—is merely a larger writing out, with much original comment, to be sure, of Professor Santayana's argument. It is not exactly plagiarism, yet the later critical study could scarcely have existed without this basis.

But what quite relieves Mr. Chesterton of any charge of intellectual theft is the curious fact that, throughout the argument, he selects for praise just the points that to Professor Santayana gave warrant for final condemnation. To confront parallel passages from the two critics would thus afford a glimpse into a fundamental divergence of literary judgment. Only in one important matter do they differ in their reasons respectively for praise or blame. Mr. Chesterton insists rightly that Browning was a conscious and deliberate artist, and, recognizing the dependence of artistic effect on form, he points out how large a number of "novel and quite admirable artistic forms" Browning created. Professor Santayana, on the other hand, declares the essential trait of Browning to be formlessness. The broken parallel, however, is more apparent than real. The one is speaking of *forms*, the other of *form*. Thus, to Mr. Chesterton the form of a particular passage is unconnected with any inner law of restraint imposing its governance everywhere and working itself out in related harmony of expression; it arises rather from the poet's surrender to a particular emotion without thought of subordinating that emotion to a central scheme of reflection.

"The element of the grotesque in art," he says, "like the element of the grotesque in nature, means, in the main, energy; the energy which takes its own forms and goes its own way. Browning's verse, in so far as it is grotesque, is not complex or artificial; it is natural and in the legitimate tradition of nature. The verse sprawls like the trees, dances like the dust; it is ragged like the thunder-cloud, it is top-heavy like the toadstool."

Now this is precisely what Professor Santayana means by formlessness, what indeed his whole essay is written to condemn; and here as elsewhere the two critics bring out sharply that radical divergence of judgment based on the perception of the same qualities, which divides the readers of Browning into hostile camps.

As in the other volumes of this series, the greater part of the book is given up to criticism, while the events of Browning's life are passed over hurriedly. This is rather unfortunate for Mr. Chesterton, as he is always soundest and most convincing when he leaves abstract questions of literature for the problems of actual experience.

The Soil: An Introduction to the Scientific Study of the Growth of Crops. By A. D. Hall, M.A., Director of the Rothamstead Experiment Station. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

Any publication originating in the Rothamstead Agricultural Station will be received with attention by those interested in agricultural research, with which that name, like those of Lawes, Gilbert, and Warington, has so long been honorably associated. Director Hall's book bears the same impress of conscientious, painstaking work that has become classic, and, dealing with the complex subject of the physical, chemical, and biological relations of the soil, supplies the student of rational agriculture, as well as the practical farmer, with a comprehensive treatise on the science and practice of crop production, written in as simple language as the subject will permit; affording also a glimpse at least of the latest investigations, and of the moot questions which render this field of research so attractive and fruitful from the scientific and the practical point of view. At the same time these less than 300 pages carry a salutary admonition to the student of the vastness of the field to be covered if he intends to "specialize" in the lines of scientific agriculture. Geology perhaps excepted, there is no equally broad field within what is commonly classed as a single subject in collegiate curricula; and the difficulty experienced by our colleges of agriculture in securing men of correspondingly broad qualifications for their staffs is eloquent of that fact.

While Mr. Hall's book takes its illustrations of principles and practice largely from agricultural conditions in England, it nevertheless contains copious references to those existing in other lands and climates, and gives full credit to the work done elsewhere—a habit unfortunately not as common nowadays as it used to be, despite accelerated communication and greater facilities of reference. This is, no doubt, largely due to excessive specialization unsupported by previous general culture, as is now the fashion. It would seem that the study of agricultural science should be a powerful antidote to excessive narrowness; and books like the one under consideration will go far both toward showing the farmer the advantages to be derived from governing his practice by scientific principles, and toward rendering him more tolerant of the Farmers' Institute lecturer who cannot answer offhand any question he may ask.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bradshaw, F. Self-Government in Canada. (Studies in Economics and Political Science.) London: P. S. King & Son. 10s. 6d. net.
Capey, Ernest F. H. Erasmus. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1 net.
Chase, Eliza B. In Quest of the Quaint. Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach. $1.50.
Duff, Archibald. The First and Second Books of Esdras. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Fisher, H. A. L. Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. $4.10 net.
Houlbert, G. Les Insectes Ennemis des Livres. Paris: Alphonse Picard; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 7 fr. 50c.
Hutton, W. H. The English Saints. (Bampton Lectures, 1903.) E. P. Dutton & Co. $4.00 net.
Kingsley, Charles. Alton Locke. 2 vols. Library Edition. J. F. Taylor & Co.
Kip, A. L. Psychology of Nations. The Knickerbocker Press.
Lazare, Bernard. Anti-Semitism, its History and Causes. The International Library Publishing Co. $2.00.
Marchmont, Arthur W. The Price of Freedom. New Amsterdam Book Co.
Panin, Ivan. Aphorisms. Boston: Alfred Bartlett. 50 cents.
Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India. (Story of the Nations.) Putnams. $1.50.
Roberts, Charles G. D. The Book of the Rose. Boston: L. C. Page & Co.
Rodkinson, Michael L. New edition of the Babylonian Talmud. Vol. IX. (XVII.). New Talmud Publishing Co.
Russell, Bertrand. The Principles of Mathematics. Vol. I. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan. $3.50.
Séailles, Gabriel. Les Affirmations de la Conscience Moderne. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.
Weigall, Lady Rose. Correspondence of Lady Burgersh with the Duke of Wellington. E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.50 net.
White, Alain Campbell. A Translation of the Quæstio de Aqua et Terra. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Whiton, J. M. Miracles and Supernatural Religion. Macmillan.
Williams, M. C. Early Mackinack. 4th ed. St. Louis: Buschart Bros. 85c.
Wood, Charles W. Norwegian Byways. Macmillan. $2.

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Henry Holt & Co., New York

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